J5
A25
K84
2009
011

Gulshan Books 2011

India Kashmir Twining of Night & Day
Syed Tassaduque Hussain

First Published by Gulshan Books 2011
Copyright © Syed Tassaduque Hussain

ISBN: 978-81-8339-119-1

All rights reserved,

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a Retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of publisher/Author.

Residency Road Srinagar 190001-Kashmir
Email: gulshanpub@rediffmail.com
www.gulshanbooks.net
Published by Sheikh Ajaz for Gulshan Books
Email: Chairman Gulshan@gmail.com

Distributed
Shiekh Mohammad Usman & Sons
Booksellers, Publishers & Distributors
Residency Road, Srinagar-190001 Kashmir
B.O. Exchange Road, Madina Chowk,
Srinagar-190001 Kashmir

Dedicated to

My father late S.N. Ahmad who taught
me to have an independent outlook of life.

Contents

Part I

Understanding Kashmir politics 1

Part II

Epilogue 177

Part III

Some comments on the existing situation 18

Index 201

Introduction

The present treatise is not an extraordinary book. Nevertheless it is not an ordinary book. It is not a mere compendium of naked historical facts. It is also not a mere reflection of scintillating imagination and gross fiction. It is also not an amalgam of fact and fiction. It does not claim to be a scientific interpretation of contemporary history. The purpose of this book is to provoke debate on contentious political issues. Why even after fifty years of independence there is a strong feeling of alienation amongst Muslims, Sikhs, Dalits in India? Why the people of Kashmir are constantly drifting away from the mainstream? Why a sense of nationhood has eluded the people of this subcontinent? If this book fails in its objective of provoking public debate on these contemporary issues of vital importance, it should suffer the damnation of eternal effacement. That would also be a condign punishment to its author.

Author

Part I

Understanding Kashmir Politics

The verdure vale culled out by the Creator, from his supremely enravishing dream, with its giant landscape, panoramic vistas, interminable mountains, winding rivers, languid and supine emerald blue lakes, vivacious cascades and luscious viridescence has 'Kashyap Reshi', the anchorite as its eponymous founder.

The vale is peerless in beauty. The gorgeous sunset with an aura of grandeur transforms in a crotchety manner the azure sky will variegate parquetry.

The surface of the deep blue lakes reflects this congeries of colours. In the meantime the vespers shadows get inextricably mingled with vast rubescent sky and the ensanguined verisimilitudes of the lakes.

The morning scene is even more breath-taking. The magnificent sunrise pandiculates from behind the lofty mountains like a Vestal Virgin looking furtively into a mirror, as if afraid of her own enticing beauty.

Slowly and steadily this effulgence would wreathe the watery-blue sky, the high mountains, the endless dwarf hills, the exuberant pastures and the gelid glaciers. The gaiety of the sparkling sun-shine would herald daybreak

to the indolent dalesman. These grandiose environs are full of magical charm and profound splendor.

Many a time, sauntering in the company of my own precious solitude, in the very early hours of the day, I was tempted to climb the challenging pinnacles of the bold mountains, forming remarkably enchanting purlieus to the Dal Lake.

With some fortitude, I would climb up the stony path. Looking down from the tops, the mountainous track, replete with spiny shrubs and trees with scabrous bends, declensions and activities, appeared like a scared snake.

That narrow and treacherous path, like the path of life itself, the eerie surroundings, the inexorably grueling precipice make a strange rapport with the mountaineer.

The austere precipice with its facade of slippery steepness assays your genuine perseverance. The exigencies of the situation demand of you both guts and gumption. Commandeering your fast finishing reserves of strength, you sally out with your rampageous lungs and pouting lips, with your thumping heart and sweltering countenance at the majestic sable cliffs. You swerve to the right, you swerve to the left, you feel the earth slipping under your feet, you try to catch or clutch any flimsy slime protruding out of its earthy socket, and then with one lust prodigious scramble you stand at the top.

The magnificence of the grand endeavor requites you well with self-satisfaction.

Ensconced upon the hoary summit, you feel like the pious eremite set down in his brown study.

The unespied world unravels itself to the perspicacity of your vision, the gamut of which traverses the good earth, maculated like a chess-board with countless fields

and their emblements.

The highway and the rivers appear like abraded lines, with houses and humans, looking like punctuation marks upon some tattered paper, and the whole ensemble appearing like an esoteric abracadabra.

The glorification of these moments emanates from the grand feeling of being like a c1ossus, transcending superciliously the small looking world.

These feelings are an excellent eclaircissement to the recondite drama of life, with its numerous paradoxes. The attitude of the mind towards life determines the profundity of one's failure or success. The history of mankind full of great adventures and equally great failures, tells the same tale.

The lengthening shadows of the evening make your profile look enchased upon the rock.

Silhouetted against the cliffs, you rise from the stupor of serene deliberations. You depart from the mountain gamboling with glee, with your paean of joy, echoing in the vast and desolate wilderness. You cast aside with derision the filigree gyves of finicalness imposed upon you by the fictitious civilization. The return seems more rewardable than the climb. You shout, you laugh, you sing, you lilt, you gambol, whatever you do, you have a feeling of irrepressible freedom, of liberty, of the manumission of the soul, from the punctilious of the daily life, that gudgeon us rituals into an impasse of gross and rank hypocrisy.

There is no masquerading of your feelings. You are what you really are, a true lover of nature, like the first man (Adam) upon the earth, with admiration wrung out of your heart for these magical surroundings that fill you

with ineffable joy, that satiate your beauty-esurient eyes, that evoke in you a desire, limitless like the star-studded firmament to endear nature. You love nature or begin to love nature from the core of your soul, in this frame of mind. Many a time sitting by the side of some noisy pebbly brook, flowing through the midst of some mountain, I have watched the sullen clouds meandering the sky, unleashing the streaks of fierce lightening that bridge with imprescriptible awe the extremes of heaven and earth.

Lightning engendering lightning, with deafening thunder of the sable clouds augmenting its rage, shaking the huge mountain like an autumn leaf in a whirlwind. The gusty wind tousles my hair and my habiliments fly like some proud pennant. It appears as if the mountain would move from its moorings and fall into the nearby deep gorge.

Many a time in full moonlit night enjoying my pedestrianism through some thick pine-wood forest, I have thought to myself – what is love? Why I love nature? Why I love humanity? Why I cannot exist without love? Is not love my soul? Is not love the very existence of humanity? Is it not a most natural passion, a most transcendental passion, a most crystal pure passion, a most ennobling passion, awakening in the hearts of men like a pinioned bird, fluttering its wings to freedom, It is my firm conviction that love is not an illusion like the conglomeration of colours in rainbow. Love is steadfast. Love is an unbreakable handhold. Life without it would be a boundless scorching desert. It is like an oasis in a desert. The ponds of love are not tenuous, so as to be sheared into smithereens by the ups and downs of life. Even in personal relations my love for my dearest wife and most beloved children remind me that love is unquenchable like

a mighty ocean, wild like a great conflagration, fierce like the lightning, piercing like the awry looks of the lovers. And lovers what should I call them? Shining mirrors which never get obfuscated. Love is eternal. Love is universal. Love is the ultimate aim of good life.

Yet these words lofty, ponderous, high sounding, magnificent, grandiloquent, get stuck in my throat, like a half swallowed frog or a lump of dry sod. I feel like a little fish out of water, gasping, endeavouring futile, and mightily striving for a small gust of wind. I feel like the condemned miserable wretch hoisted by his own petard. I see it is not love but hate that rules this world. This saddens me beyond redemption.

With deep anguish ferociously tearing often the very fabric of my soul, howsoever I may try I cannot eschew the harsh realization that love does not exist in the Valley. The sons of the soil are not the shining mirrors about whom I have .been speaking so loftily in such a poetic manner. They are destitute of any feeling of love. They are apparitions, not living men. I look into their soul and I realize that to the natives of these regal surroundings, to the scions of abject poverty, to these inheritors of perpetual despondency, to these skeletal apparitions life is a long nightmarish dream. The harshness of life has sucked out all traces of love from their souls. They are petrified demons. Look into their eyes and you find their stony eyes do not ever sparkle with slightest ambition. Their rugged brows, pallid faces, decript bodies make them a living monument to human misery. They are indeed an indelible blot on nature's visage. They are an ugly stain on the hands of human history.

The shining waters of the beautiful lakes would not restore to their listless eyes its sparkling lustre. The sweet

zephyr would not quench their blazing fire of hunger. The magnificent sunrise from behind the lofty mountains would not restore to their faded cheeks its colour. Even the majestic Wulur, the icon of gods, with its resplendent reach of rolling waters, its surging waves that so wonderfully harmonise its wild prowess with its watery elegance, would ever conjure away their ceaseless troubles, their utter haplessness, their unmitigated distress.

These miserable wretches bear life like a canker. Always groaning under the whiplash of circumstances, these humans' beasts have utterly exhausted and enervated themselves.

These bloodless human skeletons trudge along the slippery edge of time against their own volition, to ultimately fall into a fathomless abyss called "Death".

From generations to generations these tatterdemalions have been preyed upon by the fortune-favoured wealthy human vultures. For centuries past the price of their conscience has been a cantle of bread. They comfort themselves like losing gamblers, squandering their only possession, their life.

Over-laden with torment and torture, they were nailed to a dreary history by their rulers. They were crushed by the Great Mughals, despised by the fiery Pathans, abhorred by the stubborn Sikhs, debased by the vindictive Dogra Maharajas. The hapless Kashmiris were put on the rack. They were pilloried by their heartless masters. They were humiliated and de-humanized by their conquerors.

They were swept away like driftwood, on rushing by the stream of time. They found themselves trapped in a violent maelstrom of perpetual frustrations.

The entire Kashmiri nation, a confused mass of human junks, a debris of past grandeur, victims of grinding circumstances, were cheaply sold to slavery by the imperialist British in 1846 to a parvenu Hindu prince. They went to pieces under the inexorably cruel rule of Dogra Rajas.

At this distance of time it may not be easy to understand the intensity of the pestiferousness of the social system that willy nilly reduced them to utter abjection. Their obsequiousness of spirit and servility of temper has left them no hope for an about-face. They are the people who were damned by the trying times, and to their damnation their stone-hearted rulers added every conceivable moral obliquity. They tried their utmost but could not leave the crushing load of oppression and ultimately lost both quality and character.

The high-brow Dogra masters would look down upon the subject race as a bunch of meretricious, pharisaical, untrustworthy, cringing crooks, who would not hesitate to prestidigitate even ordinary dealings. The word Kashmiri was an anathema. It conjured up to one's mind the image of people inglorious beyond redemption, a bunch of devils huddled by Divine error into a Paradise.

They were considered mendacious, effeminate, slothful, masqueraders of their true character. Actually and factually they were the piteous souls with few skulking hopes and ambitions that could not hide the inelegance of their miserable lives. Never in the history of the world have a people so deeply sunk into languid indifference, to servility, as the Kashmiris did. Never have a people been more shamefaced, even in the most melancholy conditions of times, than the unfortunate Kashmiris, who have always borne with shocking passivity deep-fronded dis-

grace and public execration. It cannot be gainsaid that to bear serfdom is an act of vilely ungenerous spirit. One cannot controvert the obvious reality that to cringe and lick the dust in face of unbounded despotisms is an act of moral ruin. And yet the cutting truth is that when the great opportunity to become free came on 15th August, 1947, the Kashmiris surrendered the initiative, and abjectly abjured the opportunity to be free. They were afraid of freedom. They still are deeply afraid of freedom, though they strive for freedom, Sheikh Abdullah the villain of the piece, who masterminded this grand betrayal, was a three generation Brahman-Mussalman, the scion of a shawl weaver's family, he was lean like a starved rat, with illimitable personal ambition. The British Resident picked him up in 1931 to harry the recalcitrant Dogra Muharaja Hari Singh. Allegations of religious persecution of the Muslims ignited the spark. 1931 public agitation against Maharaja Hari Singh was the brainchild of the British. This politically ignorant youth overnight became a hero. In course of time, he turned out to be a master- maverick. He first played fast and loose, with the confidence reposed in him by the harum scarum, sanctimonious Mullah Yusuf Shah. He turned tables against his own benefactor. He characterized him as a hircine monster, a menace responsible for all the people's woes. He secretly conspired with the Brahmans in Indian National Congress. He donned the mantle of a secularist and in 1938 publicly converted his party Muslim Conference into National Conference. The new party was an ally and showboy of Indian National Congress. Sheikh Abdullah was openly dubbed as the playboy of Nehru. He played a significant role in facilitating Kashmiri's accession to India.

In 1947, he was rewarded with the Prime Ministership of the battered moth-eaten, strife- torn State of Jammu and Kashmir. His first spell of Prime Ministership came to an abrupt end in 1953. He was deposed and replaced by his deputy Bakshi Ghulum Muhhammad. Eleven years later Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad was also axed. His successor Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq was a close-lipped enigmatic fellow.

In the fall of 1953, the Bakshi regime unleashed a reign of terror.

People were hounded and condemned to incarceration for indefinite periods, without any public trial. Fear complex became the fulcrum round which revolved the dirty politics of the beautiful valley.

Fear, suspicion, rumor mongering, gripped the entire population. Any Kashmiri who walked down the street with head erect was suspected to be an anti-Indian hoodlum. Any Kashmiri who held an independent opinion upon political matters was considered to be a dangerous scoundrel of first water. Indians suspected the loyalty of Kashmiri Muslims.

The cops patrolling the streets jeered at the people, called them bad names. To them Kashmiris were vicious crooks, abominable panderers, seducers of their mothers, pimps for their daughters, the execrable human junks, the stinking cesspools of loathsome vices. The soldiers were completely brainwashed. Their impetuous hate dictated their every action. They caught hold of men with snow white beards, wrinkled visages, rickety bodies on the streets and shamelessly brutalized them at baynot points. The prisoners were forced to consume human excreta. Some soldiers felt some sort of perverted pleasure in urinating in the mouths of political suspects. Even dur-

ing the Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad's regime these inhuman indignations were inflicted upon political sufferers. During Sheikh Abdullah's trial, the Ex-director of J&K Food and Supplies Department made a written application to the Magistrate, narrating the vivid details of the tortures practiced upon him by Indian intelligence Officers. He was made to lick the urine of his interrogator in an infamous interrogation Centre.

During Sadiq regime these tortures were publicly inflicted and publicized.

The torture sessions gave cathartic pleasure to the interrogators. The victims were brainwashed, beaten, drugged, and humiliated. They were whipped, branded with hot irons or subjected to third degree methods, while the delirious soldiers clapped and cheered and seemed to enjoy every moment of this delightful fun. The worst torture that culminated the interrogation session was the thrusting of a thick baton besmeared with chillies into the rectum of some helpless victim with a slow spiral gyrating motion. These tortures were repeated at regular intervals like some life-saving medicine being administered to a sick man. The victims in the end were totally de-humanized.

Most of those who went through this agonizing ordeal never regained their balance of mind. Even after their release they found it difficult to rehabilitate themselves. They became Zombies, physical wrecks or split personalities. Some became informers for the IB (Intelligence Bureau). Very few of them approached the courts for a writ of Habeas Corpus. The High Court would usually decline the writ. Its powers were curtailed under law. The Indian constitution legitimizes preventive detention. An example is provided by the judgement of Jammu and Kash-

mir High Court in Criminal Miscellaneous Application No.2, 4 and 22 of 1966 dated 16.9.1966. According to the Single Judge who decided this case (See ALL INDIA REPORTER 1967 Jammu and Kashmir Section Page 32 para 4):

> *"The allegations of torture made by the petitioners were bizarre. The petitioners were subjected to worst tortures known to mankind. Mr. Rustomjee Director General Borders tried to prevail upon them to become crown witnesses. Mr. Shah S.P. C.I.D put them sometime in hot water tubs and sometime in cold water tubs. They were tied to the tail of a bull got from the Veterinary. Then the bull was made to run. They were administered whipping from time to time. Two days before the presentation of the application i.e. on 22-6-1966 Mr. G.L. Nanda, Home Minister of India came to the Central Jail at midnight and in the pitch dark threatened the petitioners that they would be kept for their whole life in Central Jail, unless they agreed to become crown witness against Moulvi Farooq".*

It is interesting to note the Kashmiri Pandit Judge, while adjudicating the veracity of these allegations made the following pertinent observations:

> *"The Advocate General has argued that there is no case against Moulvi Farooq and hence there would be no question of persuading the petitioners to become crown witnesses against him. One need not agree cent percent with this argument of Advocate General but the fact remains the allegations are rather wild as characterized by him".*

The High Court never factually investigated these allegations. In the Indian subcontinent, the judiciary is manipulated. Only blue-eyed boys of the establishment can aspire to become judges.

The whole of the valley had become one big interrogation centre. The atmosphere in the valley looked sad and sullen. Not to speak of political workers even ordinary criminals were denied the basic right to trial. Panic and abject demoralization had engulfed every house with the trucculence of disgorged volcanic lava. People's lives were caught in a vortex of uncertainty. Everyone in the valley suspected others of being a police informer. The whole valley had been turned into a concentration camp.

The wives suspected the husbands. The husbands suspected the wives. The fathers suspected the sons. The sons suspected the fathers. The brothers suspected the sisters. The sisters suspected the brothers. Their fears were not unfounded. In every house the police had planted an informer. People were tight-lipped but pretended to wear their heart at the sleeves. With smiling faces and bleeding hearts, people dreaded their humiliations. The Police repression was 'most heathenish and gross'.

The situation was a challenge to me. I could not feel any peace of mind. I was literally upon tenter-hooks. One question persistently nagged my mind. How could I serve such a regime? My conscience nagged me. I could not sleep for nights together. So I came to Aharabal* for some comfort to my tortured mind. I have always looked upon Aharabal Fall as a symbol of perseverance, emblem of undaunted endeavour, true reflection of the grave image of vivacious life.

Aharbal, the Shangrilla of the East, the eye of the

earth, has the most perfect backdrop of a thick pine forest. Its roaring waters scurry through its midst and then with one prodigious leap fall into a vivacious cascade, quavering the huge mountain, most of the year, with ash-grey clouds hovering upon it. The whole ensemble is sepulchral. The evenings descend slowly from the hills. The environs are really sombre. To the onlooker, the riotous merry-making of the rambunctious waves only helps enliven the surroundings. It's noisy waves resolute like the will of the deity unceasingly flow like the stream of time. One evening sitting by the side of the falls ambience of the Aharabal had coquetted my gaze. I was lost in my thoughts. It was one of the most pleasant evenings. I had spent by its side. At a short distance I could hear the ruddy cheeked village girls bantering and laughing, sometimes shaking the very surroundings with their carefree rumbling laughter. It had begun to grow dark. Sitting by the side of the Fall, counting its waves, I picked up the courage to pen down my resignation from government service. The next morning I mailed it to G.M.Sadiq the then puppet Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State. My resignation reflected my true feelings. I may quote it as under:-

To
The Prime Minister,
Jammu and Kashmir State

Sir,

After mature deliberations, serene ponderings, cool and calm ruminations, in fact looking back through the corridors of time, I perceive my only mistake has been to serve a government which is democratic in form, dictatorial in spirit, draconian in its quintessence.

Even ordinary criminals, like Quadir Riya, Ahad Ganta, Rasool Nikka have been incarcerated under the infamous Defence of India Regulations.

I consider it my bounden duty to resign from the office of Additional Public Prosecutor, Srinagar and to fight for the Civil Rights of these miserable wretches condemned to dungeons.

With kindest regards
Yours very sincerely
S.T.Hussain

The resignation of an inconsequential civil servant was a non-event. The voice of protest proved a cry in the wilderness. It did not find any mention in any newspaper. Only one Sikh Journalist published it in his paper "The Indian Observer" under the caption: "Indira Gandhi helpless before State Dadas".

It was an early November, Sadiq, the puppet Prime Minister, was comfortably ensconced in his velvety upholstered setee. He was watching from his Civil Secretariat Office window dark sombre clouds gathering upon the horizon. Soon an unexpected dust storm would violently lash the small town of Jammu. The sky menacingly became overcast. The dust clouds were getting intermingled with thunder. Gradually thunder became deafening. The lightning became fiercer. It seemed as if the ostracized demons and mighty gods of the Hindu pantheon were locked in some battle royal.

The large gloomy sky seemed to suffer some great torment. The shrieking squalls of wind in wild frenzy genuflected huge trees and wrenched mighty branches with awesome fury. The streaks of lightening interweaved into a chiasma, blazed across the illimitable sky. Indeed the

profligate gods of Hindu mythology were indulging in some boisterous revellery. It seemed as if hell was let loose. The light drizzle had turned to a heavy downpour. The impetuous rain, like volleys of bullets fired from some enemy battlement, vehemently struck the window panes.

Sadiq saw the crowded street outside had become derelict and gloomy. To take refuge from the storm, a young couple was huddled together, crouching under a Shisham tree. The man was young and willowy. The man seemed to be in his early twenties. His companion was an adolescent, petite and curvy, seraphic beauty. From their appearance one could easily locate their identity. The steel bowls, slung from their shoulders unmistakably indicated they belonged to a tribe of wandering bards called Mirasis, who eke out a pittance by singing bawdy songs for the amusement of passersby in the ancient lanes of the ancient city.

Sadiq, the balding old man, could not believe his eyes. He thought the girl could vie with the full moon in the heaven. She had flame-coloured cheeks, crescent-shaped eye-brows and piercing eyes, sharp like a darting arrow. She had delicate rubicund lips fashioned like Cupid's bow. Her raven black hair fell in loose plaits over her slender shoulders with the majesty of a vivacious cascade. To Sadiq, they appeared fair and elegant, two innocent angels holding each other's hand. The girl crept slowly and snugly into the reassuring arms of her companion.

Sadiq could no longer abide the pangs of hatred. The Prime Minister, smacked his lips, fidgeted in his velvety setee, looked green eyed at the shivering angels. The girl was by now held in the tight clasp of her willowy companion. He was endeavoring to protect her from the fury of the storm. The bosom of the beggar girl, perfect and

symmetrical like the marble domes of Taj, quivered slightly and imperceptibly with every violent thunder-clap.

The storm grew fiercer. The shivering beggars had become an indiscerptible part of the storm.

Sadiq saw the beggars were shivering. It was cold outside. He felt a secret pleasure at the torment of the two youth. He wanted the stir to augment its fury. The aging politician was enjoying the spectacle. He seemed to be gripped by the frenzy of a trenchant passion, which made him look almost inhuman. He looked like an old bronze statue, gazing into nothingness. He was lost in stupor. At this moment, an office aide slipped into his room, noiselessly, carrying under his arms a neat blue folder. He placed the neat blue folder upon his table and stealthily tiptoed through the exit.

In the meantime the storm had begun to abate. The winds became less gusty. There was greater lull between the thunderclaps. The heavy downpour again turned into a light drizzle.

The beggars left the refuge of the Shisham tree and ambled away into nothingness. Faint sunshine once again came through the clumsy patchwork of clouds.

Sadiq shuffled in his velvety setee, muttered from the corners of his mouth some filthy abuses, stood up and paced his office room several times, spat on his hands. He cursed his God, once again smacked his lips and finally like a plump pumpkin fell into his office chair. To add to his discomfiture lying upon his table was a neat blue folder. For a moment he looked askance at the neat blue folder.

Then slowly he unlaced it. He took out a small typed sheet of paper. He read it very slowly then wrote upon it

one word: "Accepted"

I was also facing a maelstrom of difficulties. Financially, I was a cipher. Politically I was inconsequential. Socially, I had no standing. About my forensic abilities, I did not have any good opinion. I felt aimless, rudderless and directionless. Sometimes, I compared myself with clouds drifting in the sky or with meteors wildly racing against the buffeting storms of darkness. At times I felt like a lonely bird, hovering the skies. I felt I had been stealthily shot down, wantonly from life's high towers, not killed but wounded and writhing in pain.

I was not very sure I would be welcome in the Kashmiri Pandit dominated Bar Association. My future seemed dreary and bleak. I had revolted against the establishment. I carried a heavy load of uncertainty within my breast. Nothing could lift me up from my mood of despondency. The smiling roses, the vivacious flowers, the playful summer showers or even the most enchanting colours richly resplendent in rainbow bowers, could not enliven me. At times I felt I was groping in thick mist over deep gorges to keep my tryst with destiny.

The sweet words of my dearest friends were like recently honed sharp steel. The honeyed words of relatives and neighbours were sharper than the barb of any sharp rapier. My life was not a piper's golden dream. These were the moments of my deepest despair. I felt I walked on fire. I felt I slept upon swords. I felt my ambitions were like deadly serpents groaning under my feet. I felt my life was a drifting bubble in a noisy stream. My days were days of failures. My nights were nights of frustrations. I had experienced agony, frustration and hopelessness. Omar Khayyam the Poet of the East was certainly right when he said that man was a fistful of dust, scattered by strong

wind; or a withered flower in an autumnal storm; a faint shadow cast by a dying flame, caught in the turmoil of a gusty wind.

However, great despondency has a bright aspect as well. It encourages self-introspection. It helps you see through the mist. It was during these days I discovered myself. I wrote to my dearest alter-ego:

"Blood thirsty, fiercely,
We fought each other,
I my enemy, uglier than an elf,
Garrotted him, thought I had won,
I turned his face, it was myself."

It was in such a mood that I joined the Bar Association, Srinagar. Soon I discovered I was not welcome. The reasons were social and political. The Srinagar Bar Association was dominated by Kashmiri Pandits. The Kashmiri Pandits were not happy with me. They considered my resignation was an act of treason. They looked upon me with suspicion. In their eyes I was a fifth columnist. A traitor to India, who should have been hanged from the nearest lamp post in the Red Square.

The Kashmiri Pandits are also called the Jews of Kashmir. They are a microscopic minority. They are extremely wealthy and hundred percent literate community. However they are like Jews, snobbish, vain, and egoistic. They look down upon Muslims as untouchables. They pride themselves for being direct descendants of god Brahma. They are the pristine pure Brahmins. The story of their ancestry is revealed by the Lord himself in Mahabharata. It may interest the readers to know that Mahabharata was composed about 1194 B.C. Mahabharata says at the end

of Krita-Yuga (which is 4000 years old) there was an internecine strife and the social order collapsed like a house of cards. The cupidity and avariciousness of the people knew to bounds. It was a desperate situation. The guardian angels of this universe confabulated and devised a solution. They approached the supreme god, Brahma, and supplicated for his assistance. Brahma had an efficacious nostrum in mind. He suggested the performance of a sacrifice. No Hindu sacrifice can be held without a priest. There was no priest available in the land. The sacrifice could not be held. This made Brahma very sad. Finding no solution to the problem, Brahama conceived a priest in his head. The foetus remained confined in his sagacious head for a thousand years. At the end of thousand years the foetus dropped down. It cracked like a coconut shell and a priest was born. Kashmiri Pandits are the descendants of this priest. They consider themselves as the wisest people in this world. In the J. & K High Court Bar Room I came into close contact with Kashmiri Pandit intellectuals. They appeared to me cold, chilly indifferent, uninvolved, unresponsive, unsympathetic, c1oselipped, lean like withered cucumbers, with bloodless faces, and listless eyes, their whole ensemble making them look almost inhuman.

For the first few days I found the atmosphere claustrophobic. I got used to it but I had a strong feeling I was cohorting with poltergeists. Sometimes I had the feeling that they were preternatural spirits who have descended upon this earth from some distant planet.

Most of the lawyers I met or knew were slaves to their own wild fancies. They were the true worshippers of the golden calf. The law courts did not interest me in the least. The judges looked like robed fools spinning out wild fan-

cies. The whole system had become a huge grinding mill, grinding men to miseries. The judges lived in ivory towers and had no true perception of social realities. Laws were jejune and antiquated. Law had become a great victimizer and justice deceptive like a conjurer's trick. The first lesson I learnt at the Bar was that what is legal and what is illegal is only a lawyer's gimmick. I learnt that judgments of the judges are their errors in gross. I found that eminent lawyers deeply steeped in legal learning were profound fools. They imagined themselves as pivots around which revolved the earth and orbited the moon. Beyond their law books they knew nothing.

During these years at the Bar I saw human misery at close quarters. I discovered the world was suppurating wound, with myriad gaping mouths, dripping miseries, sorrows and tears. These floods of tears would never dry up. These tears would water the seeds of ceaseless sufferings, failures and fears. I pondered on these imponderables and felt life was like a beggar attired in rags of random thoughts, shivering in biting cold on the pavement, raking gutters for a crumb of satisfaction.

Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India was like opening Pandora's Box. The infamous accession had turned over-night the Muslim majority of the valley into an insignificant minority. On the contrary the microscopic Kashmiri Pandit minority became an integral part of the brute majority in India. During Dogra Rule, the Kashmiri Pandits dominated the economic, social, cultural and political life of the valley. The following table would give an idea of the Pandit domination (despite their proven ordinariness) in various walks of life:

Occupation	Percentage of K.P's
Lawyers	99%
Doctors	90%
Teachers	90%
Dentists	80%
Govt. Servants	80%
Pharmacists	75%
Bankers	99%
Opticians	85%
Forest Lessees	80%
Wine Traders	100%

The Kashmir Muslims did not like this Hindu domination. They openly accused the Kashmiri Pandits of exploiting the moral obliquity of the rulers. In their view, the Kashmiri Pandits were a close-knit, close-lipped close-fisted community who indulged in devious methods to maintain their domination.

Most of the Kashmiri Pandits were money-lenders and big Landlords. They were wealthy and hundred percent literate. They are soft-spoken and possessed the gift of the gab. The majority of the Muslims was extremely poor and was groaning under the whiplash of money-lenders' economic tyranny. Kashmiri Pandit money-lenders were regarded as stone-hearted persecutors. Muslim compared the Kashmiri Pandits with Jews and considered them as moral lepers, the ace flatterers devoid of any human quality. The money lenders were the human vultures who lived upon their misery.

The Kashmiri Pandits also had great loathing for the Muslims. In their eyes the Muslims were lecherous rascals, dishonest, mean rapscallions and despicable gluttons

who kept an evil eye upon the Kashmiri Pundit Femmes Fatales. They would describe Muslim as semi-barbaric ignoramuses, the reckless indiscreet scape-graces who practiced rascally tricks in a very rascally manner.

Pundits were great propagandists and consummate slanderers and soon the world came to regard superciliously the Kashmiri Muslims as the demonized souls given to over-indulgence of sensual appetite. Even the compilers of Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary described Kashmiri meaning as someone who is dishonest. The Foreign scribes characterized them us embodiments of blackguardism. Pandits openly used to say that Muslim are unrestrained polygamists, the profligate libertines, who want to corrupt the sophisticated Pandit youth.

The Muslims equally despised the Kashmiri Pandit intellectuals. They considered them as the scourge of God who were responsible for their economic plight. According to dispassionate observers there was no difference between Pandits and Muslims. Both the communities were afflicted with views which they attributed to each other.

It was commonly thought that the Muslims were bold and aggressive. The Pandits were meek and obsequious. A Kashmiri Pandit with absolute equanimity, could pocket the most scurrilous abuse, the most filthy and obscene epithets. This was his defence mechanism. The Pandits were looked down upon as whispering chatterboxes, who could spread malice and scandal like a raging epidemic. The Muslims thought they could have no truck with them. According to tenets of Islam a slanderer is a hundred-tongued monster, and an envenomed serpent is its every tongue that sucks goodness from human soul like a sponge. The Muslims regarded these mobile whispering machines as the bad conscience of man or as emblems of absolute

deformity of soul that made them a menace to mankind. In the eyes of the Kashmiri Pandits, all these vices applied in equal measure to Kashmiri Muslims. The Kashmiri Pandits were less than one percent of the total population. They could not openly take cudgels with the hostile Muslim majority. They were the silent haters of the Muslim majority. This pathological state of mind of the two communities made them suspicious of each other. Muslims thought that the Pandits suffered from all the syndromes of minority complex, like being cynical, distrustful, malevolent people who had learnt the pragmatic truth that selfishness alone motivates human actions. They were absolutely destitute of any idealism. They were like a close corporation. Their Machiavellian attitude to life helped them maintain their stronghold upon economic, social, political, life of the valley. Their machinations, stratagems, skillfully contrived complots were grounded upon the principle of exploitation of the weaknesses of the ignorant Muslim majority. They had never done manual labour. They had no conception of the dignity of labour. In short the Muslims thought they were a parasitical community. This highly exaggerated Muslim obsession about the vices of Kashmiri Pandits seems to be the main basis of loathing between the two communities. From Kashmiri Muslim point of view, even today a Kashmiri Pandit is inscrutable like the face of the sphinx. They are born pessimists. They have always regarded their lives as dull and empty. They have no verve and no dynamism. Any Kashmiri Pandit howsoever high his station in life would say his finest dreams are drops of rain that fall upon parched desert or his fondest hopes are prickly thorns that grow in vast deserts. The whole community suffers from pangs of melancholia. Kashmiri Pandits are of the firm view that religious fanaticism has fuelled the hatred of

Kashmiri Muslims towards them. According to them the Kashmiri ethnic Muslim group is suffering from some psychological disorder that makes them imagine that these imaginary views exist in the Kashmiri Pandit Community. Dispassionate observers would to a great extent endorse the Kashmiri Pandits' viewpoint. However melancholia has gripped the psyche of the Kashmiri Pandit ethnic group. This group melancholia has led to psychological impotence of the community. On the other hand, the Kashmiri Pandits have always regarded the Kashmiri Muslims as pedigreed rapists and pederastically motivated licentious menace, a great threat to the morals of the Kashmiri Pandit youth. In fact, it may be stated that the Muslims were down-trodden underdogs. They had a strong feeling of distrust, hatred and suspicion towards Pandits. After Indian Independence in 1947, the yawning gap between the two communities was widening. Both the communities were plumb mad towards each other. Yet one thing was certain. Both communities regarded each other as kissing cousins. The Kashmiri Muslims had never identified themselves with pan-Islamism or even with Muslim interests in India. They remained cloistered in the villages. Islam in Kashmir was only a metamorphic form of Shivaism. *[Shivaism is belief in Supreme Hindu god Shiva]* Idol worship was replaced by shrine worship. People more believed in saints and derivishes than in Almighty God. The Kashmiri Muslims did not sever their umbilical cord with Shaivite influences. While the leaping flames of communal killings had engulfed the entire subcontinent in 1947, Kashmir alone remained placid and tranquil. This association of Shaivite philosophy and Kashmirian Islam proved an effective embankment against the furious inundation of communal strife. The Kashmiri intellectuals openly advocated that their roots were more firmly implanted in the ancient Kashmiri culture than in the strict orthodoxy of Islam. Islamic ethos did not cement the links between Indian Muslims and Kashmiri Muslims. Jinnah was opposed by National Conference, as he was a spokesman of Indian Muslims interests. Jinnah, whose historical knowledge about Kashmiri Muslims was scanty, could not comprehend the exact scope and ambit of the influence of Kashmiri culture on Islam. He was baffled by the irresistible urge of the Muslims of the valley to join the original matrix of the high caste Hindu-dominated state of India. Only the orthodox sections of urban Kashmiri Muslim population wanted that Kashmir should join Pakistan. The orthodox urban Muslims whole-heartedly supported the Muslim Conference in the Valley.

However in the neighbouring state of Punjab, communal killings went unabated. One cannot explain the barbarity, cruelty and inhumanity that accompanied these irrational killings. There can only be a psychological explanation for these irrational acts which stemmed from a pathological state of mind. The hate that was generated helped to pollute communal strife. It became an unceasing chain reaction.

We have to understand that communal riots in India stem from a state of mind, in which strange enough the majority Hindu community comes to believe that it is insecure in its homeland. These severe perceptual distortions and hallucinations augment the feelings of insecurity. The adversary minority group without any rational basis is regarded as a treacherous mortal enemy that is set for its objective of destroying the cultural-economic superiority of the majority group. At this psychological pitch, the majority group decides to act in self-defense. Genocide of the minorities becomes a self-defense mecha-

nism. So, communal killings instead of being condemned are being regarded as acts of self-preservation. This strife mentality leads to both majority and minority acquiring a psychopathic personality. Mutual hate becomes a dependable shield. These are some of' the pshychometrics of communalism in India.

At present the Brahman high caste group feels its very existence is in jeopardy. This feeling of insecurity has become an emotional feeling of disorder, and the group as a whole has developed intense feelings of anxiety, bordering on obsessions about its future existence. As an act of catharsis, the group collectively indulges in psycho-drama of wanton bloodshed, arson, rape and other atrocities that are perpetrated upon the minority community. This is the genesis of the Hindu backlash in modern India.

This endeavour instead of bringing about the desired results always ends up in feckless success. The aftermath of this futile exercise is guilt consciousness in the victimizer group. The victimizer group in order to escape the psychological strain pretends to have become conscious-stricken. As an overt measure of its contrition, it abjectly surrenders the very interests it wanted to protect or may make unwarranted concessions to the victimized group. These futile attempts end up in utter frustration leading to acute feelings of psychological impotence. This nagging feeling of impotence galvanizes the majority group into indulging in a chain-reaction of violence. To prove to itself that it is still virile, the psychologically impotent majority indulges in exquisitely targeted violence. This vicious circle goes on without a break. The deep inferiority complex, resulting from psychologically impotence, acts like chaffing fetters for the wounds in the pride of majority group. The non-healing of these cankerous

wounds in the ego of the community creates a feeling of despondency and incurability. This mentally disturbed social group deliberately treads upon the quagmire of eyeless hate. It was this psychological trauma that in early eighties lent to Hindu-Sikh discord the fury and urgency of an irresistible equinoctial storm. BJP in India mirrors the aspirations of the ultra-nationalist Hindus. In this backdrop, we find that the sturdy, valiant, industrious Sikhs had transformed Punjab (the land of five rivers) into a real dream-land. Its economy was sound. Its coffers were full. The rest of India was as destitute as a beggars bowl. The economic prosperity of the Sikhs made Hindus panic-stricken. Punjab could be economically viable, autonomous state. This made Hindu cantankerous about their Sikh brethren. The Sikh community became a threat to the unity of India. These were baseless fears. The panic-stricken Hindus truncated Punjab into two states, a Hindu Punjab and a Sikh Punjab. The fertile areas were allotted to the state of Haryana (Hindu Punjab). Still the Sikhs posed a threat to the Hindus. The Sikhs were also undergoing a psychological trauma. They were endeavouring to find their roots. The emotionally feeble Hindu community considered this as high treason. Since early forties the two communities were locked in an emotional battle. The Sachar Committee formula of 1949 attempted a via media. The Hindus were not satisfied with Sachar Committee formula. In 1956 under pressures from high caste Hindus, the central government had unilaterally upset the Sachar formula. The Sikhs regarded this is an act of naked aggression aimed to financially strangulate the community. The Hindu-Sikh discord assumed monostrous proportions. The climax came when the 18th All India Akali conference held at Ludhiana on 28th, 29th October, 1978 adopted a public resolution confirming the earlier

(Anundpur Sahib) resolution of 1973. It may be mentioned that twelve resolutions were adopted at Ludhiana session. Out of the twelve resolutions, only one, the most innocuous one, suggested changes in the Indian Constitution. The operative portion of this resolution read as under:-

> *"The Shiro Mani Akali Dal realizes that India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures. To safeguard the fundamental rights of the religious and linguistic minorities, to fulfill the demands of the democratic traditions, and to pave the way for economic progress, it has become imperative that the Indian constitutional infrastructure should be given a real federal shape by redefining the Central and State relations and the rights on the lines of the aforesaid principles and objectives. As such the Shiro mani Akali Dal emphatically urges upon the Junta Government to take cognizance of the different linguistic and cultural sections, religious minorities as also the voice of millions of people and recast the constitutional structure of the country on real and meaningful federal principles to obviate the possibility of any danger to National unity and the integrity of the country and; Further to enable the states to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people in their respective areas by the meaningful exercise of their powers".*

There is nothing secessionist or separatist in this resolution. Nehru at one stage himself had advocated this idea.* Yet this resolution was utilised by the high-caste

ruling Junta as a stick good enough to stick fatally the proud valiant, stick-to-it-ive Sikh population of Punjab. Sikhs were portrayed as a bunch of rebels. Indira Gandhi with the assistance of third eye (an intelligence organization) created the bogey of Bhindranwalla** menace. She exaggerated the threat of Bhindranwalla phenomenon in Punjab. She succeeded in manipulating Indian public opinion and created a frightful state of panic in Hindu mind. Then taking advantage of the fear complex that had gripped Hindus, she launched the gory operation Blue Star. Two crack divisions of the Indian army were pressed into service. The holiest of the holy Sikh shrines "The Golden Temple of Amritsar" was badly desecrated. During this macabre operation Sikhs were shot dead, like stray dogs on the streets. The operation Blue Star was indeed a nerve-racking retribution. The feeble-minded Hindu public opinion from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari supported it.

The goddess of Indian politics Indira Gandhi had purged the land of five rivers of the "monster" Bhindranwalla. The Sikhs thought otherwise. They believed nothing was farther from truth than this picturisation of the great martyr who had laid down his life for the cause of a Sikh State.

Soon after operation Blue Star, Hindu-Sikh riots in India were organised by the establishment with satanic finesse. It seemed as if the high caste ruling Junta in India had gone haywire. The atmosphere in the country was claustrophobic. Once again I had to resign on conscientious grounds as Central Government Standing Counsel at Srinagar. Exactly eleven days after my resignation on October 31st, the lady whom I had greatly admired and against whom I had so recently rebelled was assassinated in cold blood, by her two trusted Sikh bodyguards, in the

sprawling lush lawns of her own house at I-Safdarjang Road, New Delhi. Hearing Mrs. Gandhi's death news was like touching hundred thousand volt live electric wire. Indira Gandhi's murder was an act of blackest villainy.

"Villainy, Villainy, Villainy,

I think upon it- I think; I smelt

Oh villainy:

I thought so then, I will kill myself for grief

O: Villainy, Villainy: (Ethello Act 5) Scene II

Mrs. Gandhi's cold-blooded murder proved the jack pot for the High caste ruling Junta. The entire blame was laid at the quarters of the Sikh minority. It was the high-caste ruling Junta that wanted to take advantage of the situation. They knew the innocent blood of the innocent Sikhs would cement Hindu vote throughout the length and breadth of India. The dandlers of public sentiments lost no time in organising killer groups that would slaughter the Sikhs in Delhi. On All Saints day in 1984, when the entire Christian world was kneeling before cross and praying for peace and tranquility in the world and the Holy Pope was extending his blessings to humanity, hell was let loose in the metropolis of India. The highly skilled killer gangs led by ruling party members of parliament were executing an orgy of macabre genocide of the Sikh minority in Delhi. According to an eminent "Indian Express" columnist (Express Magazine March 24, 1985):

"Now why would anyone want to lose an orgy, the like of which has never been seen-not even during the partition? Those were communal riots. Both sexes were indiscriminately slain. This time the men were slaughtered and the women kept live for the slaughterers, a very different proposition from communal or any other sort of frenzy. This was no frenzy. As to why it was conceived, I am not in the business of psychoanalysis, which is obviously what the stars of the political firmament, who masterminded the whole monstrosity, are in need of.

All I can say is they must have wanted rather desperately to win the coming elections. The prospects, never mind what the surveys told psephologists - looked exceedingly bleak. A good stiff dose of blood-letting, made to look a people's wrath and revenge, might just about do the trick, as indeed it did."

Way back in 1948 Nehru, the earth-bound, talkative Kashmiri Pandit, an enigmatic, perplexing, and mysterious politician, had cashed upon the violent murder of M.K. Gandhi. Bannerjee who was then the Home Secretary has revealed that Nehru's Govt. was aware on 20th January, 1948 itself about the conspiracy to murder Gandhi. Nehru did not take any steps to protect Gandhi's life. The blame for Gandhi's murder was laid at the doors of militant, rightist Hindu organisation RSS. In this way the main opposition was politically eliminated. Congress was hundred percent high-caste dominated party. Till now, it has swept the polls five times. It is a great irony of the Indian democratic setup that every time Congress swept the polls, the analysis showed the majority of seats secured by Congress had behind it minority votes. According to E.M.S (Ex Chief Minister of the State of Kerala):

"In Lok Sabha, elections did the Congress party secure even 50% of votes, though it invariably secured 70% or sometimes even more of the seats in the Lok Sabha in all the first five elections".

E.M.S. is a perceptive observer of Indian politics. His views are entitled to great respect. He is certainly right. For a continuous spell of last three or four decades India has experienced minority Brahman rule.

It was (as the Indian Express columnist has expressed) for the first time Congress (I) faced bleak prospects at the hustings. The Brahman cabal in Congress (1) had conceived a complot of diabolical proportions. They knew Indira Gandhi's murder would be an election windfall. After Indira, her simpleton son would be installed on the throne of Delhi. The miserable wretch would remain a low-profile Prime Minister, a contraption to be skillfully manipulated by the secret cabal. They succeeded grandly. Indira's blood did invigorate the rule of High-caste Brahmans in India.

In pre-partition India, M.K. Gandhi was one such contraption manipulated by this secret cabal in the Indian National Congress to gain ascendency to the levers of power. He was a mere puppet, whose strings were in the hands of powerful Brahmans. He was utilised by them to double-cross Indian public opinion. Physically, he was un-attractive with swarthy frontal lobes of his skull joined together to form a smooth bald pate resembling a peeled walnut shell with sunken cheeks and a steel-cold gaze that made him look preternatural. His rickety legs could hardly bear the tremendous weight of his massive head. He looked like an icon of some god of Hindu pantheon. He with his bizarre appearance was bound to coquet the gaze of Hindu imagination. Psychologically speaking he was a complex personality. If the authors of *Freedom at Midnight* deserve credence, his ardent desire was to play mother to his grand-niece Manu. His maternal instincts were very powerful. They found forceful expression in his theory of

Ahimsa*. He always associated women with non-violence and mercy. According to him women in all her roles that of sister, wife, friend and the most elevated of all other 'Mother' was an embodiment of sacrifice and mercy. Gandhi used to preach that violence did not have a female face. He conjured up to his mind a maternal role in politics. His approach to life was utterly matriarchal. Even the mighty gods of Hindu pantheon without any exception were beardless. He wanted to play mother to the nation. One has to understand that Gandhi's Ahimsa was not a result of profound deliberations. It was an irrepressible expression of his complex personality. The matriarch-minded, lethargic and passive Indian society found the inertia of Gandhi's Ahimsa an unbreakable handhold-a divined sacrament. Gandhi succeeded in divinizing politics while concomitantly feminizing Indian political struggle.

In Indian ethos and culture, anything unusual, anything bizarre anything wayward, crotchety, perplexing, having an aura of mysteriousness, gathers to itself a halo of spiritualism. The spirituous maniacs, the moon-sticken idiots, the muddle-headed lunatics, the stark-naked Sadhus, the whirling yogis are looked upon with awe. They are considered as embodiments of rarest spiritualities. Gandhi, the naked fakir with his utter passionlessness and obvious passivism had all the qualities of a Yogi. He successfully assumed the mantle of a spiritualized saint. He was a living deity. He virtually mesmerized his audience. He preached a new doctrine. He would pontificate to resist British brutality, 'the masses should lie prostrate before the onslaught of British police with bottoms up'. The Indian protesters literally followed this counsel. The manly British police was completely flabbergasted. The disdain-

ful, proud, snobbish, arrogant, braggadocio tommies were confronted with a desperate situation. How could they fight a prostrate enemy with bare bottoms up? This passive resistance cauterized the wounds in the pride of British manliness. The swaggering British soldiers would recoil from such a spectacle with loathing and disgust. Gandhi had forged a political weapon of devastating effect. His leadership had overwhelmed the British Statesmanship. The Indian political struggle was reduced to the struggle of a hapless, struggling futilely to free herself from the iron clutches of a heartless ravisher. Gandhi's Ahimsa was not a wayward tee-shot. It was a political ploy to fight the manly British imperialist, without getting hurt.

The secret Brahman cabal in the Indian National Congress saw in this feminizing of Indian political struggle vast potential for double-crossing the British as well as the Indian public opinion. To the Britishers they indicated that Indian political straggle would remain a paper tiger. To the Indian public they made lofty promises of an early swaraj. It is pertinent to note that lurking behind the emotionalism of patriotic propaganda were feature-less flunkeys who would only serve the interests of British Raj.

The Indian National congress, the hurdy-gurdy of the 'High Caste Hindus', became a contraption for giving succour to the tottering British Raj. Gandhi had fully subdued the hurricane force of revolution. He had baled out the British from an impossible situation. The British immaculate propagandists lost no time in catapulting the political saint of India to heights. Gandhi's Ahimsa was depicted as something superior to the conception of non-violence envisioned by Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi was made to look like a collossus- an irresistible moral force- a living demi-deity. In their heart of hearts, the Britishers knew

that Gandhi's Ahimsa would form the solid underpinnings of their Raj. Indian National Congress was a vent through which pent up Indian emotions could find an escape. It was a British creation and an effective safety valve. Congress was also an effective mechanism in the hands of British for replenishing Indian sentiments. Gandhi's sudden emergence on the Indian political horizon had the fatal effect of dastardizing all operant active nationalist forces in India. The passivity of Indian political struggle was of such a character that a hundred and odd I.C.S. men could control the entire India. They ruled India with an iron hand. Under the influence of high-caste Brahmin, who were acting covertly in complicity with the British Raj, Gandhi the Saint of Indian politics ruled out violent political struggle that could shake Raj to its roots. Henceforth, British imperialism with impunity could enjoy the frescade of Gandhi's Ahimsa.

In July, 1909, Lala Lajpat Rai the lion of Punjab, in utter frustration lamented (to quote his own words):

> *"Congress as it was known in the country from 1887 to 1907 has ceased to exist; and was 'no more than a rump run by a section of educated Hindus."*

It may be pointed out "Educated Hindus" was a euphemism for high-caste Brahmans who were highly educated. The resentment against high caste Brahmins was simmering in the minds of common men. The High Caste Brahmins were also aware about the hostility of the common man. Their class conscience was crystal clear. They were born as High Caste was an accident of birth. The culprits were the gods. The Brahmins could not comprehend why they should be stone-walled with aversion, detestation and malevolent anger? Why should they be pe-

nalized for the fault of the gods? As a class they felt a moral justification and considered it their bounden duty to defend to death their privileged position? The doctrine of Karma was an impregnable bulwark erected by the Brahmins. Caste was linked with Karma.

The hawkeyed, crafty, meek-looking, feminine, meditative knowledgeable Indian priests with recondite preciosity of language, and remarkable pragmatism weaved out of vedic mantras the inscrutable doctrine of Karma. The Hindu society became a strange world of Voodoo, and common men lifeless Zambies. The Vedic literature was constructed into huge labyrinth. The priests, the verbal contortionists became the bridge between gods and men. The doctrine of Karma became a Brahmin bastion. Brahmin hegemony in India was grounded in the adamantine foundations of religious faith. In point of fact, it may be stated that Brahmanism became the *elan vital* of Hindu faith. This position was not a result of any social, economic, historical or logical evolution. On the contrary, it was confusion created by priests on the foundations of esoteric abstract dogmas that had human superstition as its matrix. An idea or a dogma that is fossilized into faith stymies mental activism. The priestly ideoplasty successfully honed the doctrine of Karma, making Hindu society a slothful, jejune, ineffective social force. Caste-ism became the fetters for common men. One could not be true Hindu without wearing the wimple of caste. This made high castes hegemonistic in character. Casteism was an extraordinary fabrication. It would rule the minds of men for generations to come in utter bad faith.

To prevent rebellion, casteism had a built-in safety mechanism. Within the fold of Hindu culture, it would simulate revolt. The Bhakti saints in Indian history are

examples of mock-rebels against orthodox Hinduism. They were created by the Brahmans to channalise the forces of revolt to their advantage. The breakaway groups from Hindu faith again got calcified into sects and sub-sects of Hinduism. These Bhakti saints were safety valves for letting out public ire against high caste. They acted to depressurise public sentiments so that high caste hegemony remained safe from any real danger.

Hinduism itself was bereft of any dogmatic faith. It was a way of life. It was quintessentially an amorphous, abstract conceptualisation with ill defined boundaries. So any group could breakaway from it, and yet remain within its fold.

In 20th century India, Gandhi was the Bakhti Saint fabricated by the high caste. He was a mere cog in the wheel. He was not even a four anna member of the Indian National Congress. He was only a conduit pipe through which flew the forces of social change only to irrigate high-caste pastures.

The crowning act of his checkered political career was stymying conversions to Islam of untouchables. The untouchables wanted to escape to Buddhism and Islam. As a Bhakti saint, he promised to imparadise their social life. He made lofty promises of bringing about changes in Hindu society. He ultimately led them to *cul-de-sac* and masterminded their complete demobilisation. The revolt against Brahmanism, ended in a fiasco. Low-caste still wallows in filth and degradation like worms in the dustbin of untouchability. They are still a defunct part of Indian society. For rendering this service, the high-castes were mighty pleased with Gandhi. They bestowed upon him the grandiloquent title of Mahatma. This was the glorious period in Gandhi's life. He was placed on the pedes-

tal of a deity.

The British imperialists joined this political orchestra to deify Gandhi. It is a fact that Gandhi's non-violent political struggle had also become a part of British imperialism in India as they never wanted an active, violent forceful, decisive political struggle by the masses. They knew that such a struggle would inevitable result in coup-de-tat of the British rule in India. Such an unexpected turn of events would pass on the mantle of power to the Indian masses. This would be disastrous for British hegemony in India. The device of Ahimsa was only a theatrical trick meant to have a sensational impact upon Indian mind. The Ahimsa of Gandhi did have sensational consequences of far-reaching psychological implications. The most notable consequence was that the entire Indian nation was put to boil in the pressure cooker of inertia. The Indian masculinity under such a severe psychological pressure cracked up like mashed potatoes. The congress openly became the Femmes-de-chamber of the British. It cannot be gainsaid that the guileful, foxy, intriguing high-caste who controlled the levers of power in the congress organisation were in no hurry to gain political power. They were awaiting the international situation to get crazed to a point of no return. The emergence of fascist Germany was like the writing on the wall. To everyone, it was obvious that imperialist Britain was set on a collision course with fascist Germany. The aftermath of this collision would be liquidation of the British Empire in India under economic pressures. The empire would become an albatross around the British neck. The British would voluntarily pass on the power to the Brahmins in Congress. The cranky British Raj in India would low down at Brahmin's feet. The Brahmins had stooped to conquer.

It is not essential to psychologise political events in great detail. Suffice it to say that when British paramountancy lapsed in 1947, Brahmins in Congress inherited the Raj. This time the Hindu masculinity surfaced again under the trauma of a free India. For decades the majority had behaved like feckless feminine. The strain on their ego was nerve racking. Having obtained freedom on a platter, they had to prove to themselves their manliness. Like a stretched copper-wire regaining its position, the majority masculinity with feral ferocity found expression in targeted violence towards minority groups. The violence towards minorities always was exquisitely sexually oriented. In the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1947, the violence had an element of sexual perversion. The men were mercilessly butchered. The women were gangraped publicly. Sometimes they were stripped and paraded nude in market squares, the onlookers clapping and cheering the rapists. Often sadistic tortures were inflicted upon the victims with devilish delight. For the majority, these communal killings in fact were some rituals which were being carried out with absolute non-chalance. To avenge the past was an act of worship. Psychologically these acts of violence were cathartic in nature. The majority were purging their emotions through works of violence. They were a direct reaction to the policy of feminisation of Indian political struggle pursued by Gandhi. Every heartless act of arson, every callous act of rape, every fiendish act of murder was committed by the perpetrator to assure himself of his virility and manliness. These riots following the partition of India had at least one salubrous effect. They masculinised the Hindu community for a while. In the Muslim-dominated areas in North India, the Muslims acted with equal savagery towards Hindu minorities. The dogma of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a

tooth was sufficient to whip up the frenzy of revenge. The after-math of Independence was chain reaction of communal riots in the sub-continent. Both communities fought each other under a psychological stress. In 1948 Gandhi was murdered in cold blood by a Hindu fanatic who belonged to RSS. The physical liquidation of the man who had effeminised the whole nation, removed the psychological strain that was responsible for these communal killings as acts of masculinity. The riots in India suddenly came to a standstill. The fanatic Hindus heaved a sigh of relief. No other Gandhi would arise from Indian soil to castrate them. During the period of partition the Sikhs had formed the avant-garde of the rioters. They had avenged the faith. Now they wanted their share in political power. The majority did not want to oblige them. The Brahmins had always regarded the Sikhs with contempt. They were converts from the lowest strata of Hindu society. The Brahmins developed an invincible antipathy towards them. There was another psychological cause for jealousy between the two communities. The Sikhs were reputed to be manly and sexually virile. The sexual jealousy of the Hindus became a yawning fissure between the two communities. Hindus and Sikhs came from the same genetic stock. There was not much physical disparity between the two groups. However, psychologically they were poles apart. While the average urban Hindu was affable, soft-spoken and effeminate, the sturdy Sikh was noisy, hard-headed extrovert. The Hindu-Sikh intermarriages were encouraged to cement the two communities. However, these intermarriages had the opposite effect. Every time the Sikh youth boasted of their libidinous prowess, the urban Hindu youth only felt ashamed of themselves. Gandhi had preached the doctrine of abstinence. Sex was something filthy and dirty. The Hindu ladies married to Sikhs were looked upon with envy by their sisters. They were regarded as sexually lucky. The Sikh feminine's married to Hindus were taken for granted to be sexually esurient. These stupid feelings had no real basis. The antagonism between the two communities helped to disseminate these canards. These canards only fueled the fires of malevolent fury, jealousies, and rancorous spitefulness between the cousin communities.

Gandhi's unnatural philosophy of sexual abstinence, his melodramatic emphasis on passive theory, and non-violence in politics, had left deep scars on the ego of the Hindu community. Under Brahmin influence (Gandhi was only a manifestation of Brahmin influence), the Indian masses had become submissive, compliant and totally inert. The Sikh challenge for homeland completely nonplussed them. They became suspicious of the Sikhs. The unenthusiastic efforts to bridge the hiatus between the two cousin communities proved a lackluster endeavour. Actually and factually, the two communities were breathing down each other's neck. Hindu–Sikh emotionalism was on a head long collision course. The impending disaster was looming large in the sky. Only the Brahmins were happy at this turn of events. They would be the beneficiaries of an open Hindu-Sikh feud. It was in their interest to cleave the two communities wide apart. They created panic; psychosis and Sikh phobia amongst Hindu masses. They invented the stupid slogan that India was at the brink of a great divide. This slogan proved a dreadful bugaboo. The Hindu intelligentsia was crushed under the ponderous fear of second partition of India. The very thought of second partition made them jittery. The very idea of Khalistan made their flesh crawl. At the same moment the grandiloquent Brahmin propaganda whipped up anti-Sikh

frenzy to a feverish pitch. Many truthless canards were vended as verities. Hindus and Sikhs were feuding with each other. The ruling Brahmin Junta could now manipulate the situation with great dexterousness. In India, the elections were around the corner. To capture power at the hustings was essential. The cock and bull story of public wrath against Sikhs was freely circulated. In fact the official butcheries and killer gangs with barbarity indulged in a wanton carnage of the massacre and rape of Sikhs. The diabolical slaughtering operation was carried out under the façade of people's wrath. The story of seventeen year old daughter of a wealthy Sikh contractor who neither understood nor knew the subtleties of these political developments, illustrates the rumours that may have no foundations but are still making rounds in the Sikh society. The author does not believe this story to be true but would mention it to show the antagonism between the two communities. It is said she was petite, attractive, artless young lady at the threshold of womanhood. At this age, she felt life was innocent, unsullied, untainted, and full of goodness. To her, life was a honeyed dream, something exquisite, grand, lovely, and full of gracefulness, balance and delicate symmetry.

She would sit under a Shisham tree and dream about her lover Singh. She would watch the grandeur of the daybreak fantasizing about the willowy admirer. She would watch the dusk fall slowly from the skies. She would gaze into nothingness woolgathering about Singh. She would watch the trees with blooming flowers and feel the sweet zephyr bringing fresh redolence, and memories of Singh. To her it appeared that every flower in her garden shone with the bloom of youthful Singh. The rosiness of the roses, the radiance of the sun, the sparkle of the moon-

light, the azureness of the sky, the blueness of the deep lakes, the hues in the rainbow only reflected the magnificence of Singh. Her whole existence revolved around her lover. She luxuriated in the reminiscences of Singh. She pined for the sorcerer, for the serenading philanderer, who had sung to her in moonlight nights, melodious, lilting love melodies. She vividly remembered how his mellifluous voice had lulled her to sleep like a baby in a crib being lullabied. The lean lithe, lovely Sikh youth was throbbing in her every heartbeat. Her father did not like her infatuation with Singh. The daughter in spite of her father's remonstrance bestowed lavish fondness on Singh. To her innocent mind, Singh seemed to be the centre of this huge universe. She honestly thought, if Singh did not smile, the sun, the moon, the stars in the firmament, the gorgeous flowers in bloom, would look down-cast. The earth would stop to orbit. The planets would collide with each other. In short, the world would cease to exist. The words that fell from Singh's lips were holier than the holiest Sikh scriptures. The tears fell from his eyes became shining stars in the sky. The flowers bore his fragrance. The waves of the oceans displayed his glory. Her lover was diffused like God in this universe. Such was the intensity of her devotion towards her admirer.

Singh was tall, graceful youth in his late twenties. His métier was painting. He was the scion of a lower middle class family. As a painter, he never made his mark. His colleagues considered him a worthless gimcrack. He lived in a small squalid house with his widowed mother. He was a perfect maverick. His arthritic mother did some darning work to eke out a living. Banta was a sensitive, utopian romanticist. He was unemployed and did not earn anything. The old widow would sit late hours and darn

clothes but never utter a word to faze Banta. Banta was the fulcrum of her existence. To her muddled head, Banta appeared perfection, excellence, virtue combined together, a peerless youth: She ignored the whispering tongues of her neighbours who faulted her son for his bohemian life. The old splenetic lady did not pay any heed to disparaging remarks of the fault-finders, criticisers, backbiters and detractors of Banta. Her social relations were nil in the locality. She was perfect recluse. To her, toil was worship. At sun-up she would start her toil. She would sweep the house that was no better than a hutch. She would wash dirty clothes, cook food, darn old clothes; do other household chores, till the shadows of the dusk would begin to ache her eyes. She would then lie down beside, Banta close her eyes, mumble holy scriptures. Every day she prayed to God to make her son's life purposeful. She was an orthodox Sikh devout, who believed in clear conscience, uprightness, probity, and rectitude in life. She did not mind if Banta Singh did not earn a farthing. However, she would never forgive Banta if ever he sullied his virtuousness. In the crucible of her puritanical life, Banta was cleaned up and sanitized.

However, her neighbours thought otherwise. Banta's affair with Kuldeep stoked the embers of public scandal. It was disgraceful, shocking, and disreputable for two Sikhs (male and female) to keep tryst in parks, lanes and other public places. Their frequent rendezvous provided grist for whispering mills. The neighbours openly said Banta and Kuldeep were going to pollute, soil, foul, poison and contaminate every family in the locality. Since the times of the great lawgiver Manu, women in Indian society were looked down upon as worthless trinkets. They were regarded as rag-dolls to be vended to bridegrooms

for a song. The men were all important. The bride's father had to buy a bridegroom at an unconscionable price. Marriages were parent arranged. The brides were selected by fathers for their sons. Banta had defied these age old mores. He had committed an unpardonable sin. Whenever Banta walked down the street, the ladies in the neighbourhood would hiss, whistle, and jeer at him. The young children would cheer and shower upon him catcalls and filthy epithets.

Kuldeep's father was between the Chrybdis and Scylla. Kuldeep was his only child; the focus of his paternal affections. She was a keepsake of his beloved deceased wife. A man of lamb-like disposition, he never knew how to exercise parental authority. He could not stop Kuldeep from admiring Banta. He was aware that the malicious neighbours were spinning fatuous tales about his daughter's innocent affair. His agony was understandable. The Indian society adores female goddesses but despises women as something filthy. He tried his best to wean away Kuldeep from the idea of marrying a destitute painter. He used logic, persuasion, threats but all in vain. Kuldeep was firm in her resolve like an adamantine rock. The old man was outclassed. He licked the dust and accepted the hand of Banta for his only child. The malevolent neighbours did not forgive him. In silence, he suffered his torment. Banta's mother was the only person in the community who shared his sorrows, agonies and persecution. The old Sikh had made up his mind to perform the marriage of his only child with great pageantry. For seventeen long interminable years he had waited for this occasion. Now he wanted to celebrate it with pompousness, ostentation and magnificence. This morganatic marriage would also be stately display of his immense wealth.

The huge house was painted a new. The brand new furniture was re-upholstered. The manicured lush lawns were redecorated. The big house was turned into a museum of exquisite antiques and priceless decoration pieces. The servants were dressed up in sartorial uniforms. Kuldeep was simply rapturous. She and her bevy of butterflies were yelling, screaming raphsodically, lilting joyously, day dreaming, as happy as the day long. This boisterous revellery was heart-warming. Kuldeep was intoxicated with full blooded youth. She was floating on the clouds. However, the scornful cynics predicted disaster for Kuldeep. Some dismissed this alliance as an act of greatest fraudulence on the part of Banta, the vagrant painter. Ladies in the locality detracted Banta as a satanic double-dealer. They said Banta had an eye upon Kuldeep's riches. Banta's decrepit mother faced this avalanche of denunciation with muted patience. She never uttered a word of protest. Her little shabby hutch did not show any signs of celebrations. There were no fire-works, crackers, rockets, lighting arrangements, noisy music on megaphones, rumbling laughter of friends and relations. Instead, her hutch wore a staid look. It was more akin to a dilapidated Gurudwara. His marriage was going to be a simple affair. His neighbours were discomfited by his blasé, unaffected, casual conduct.

November 9, 1984 was just like any other day in Delhi. The sun was smiling as usual in the sky. The breeze was serenading to the flowers. Delhi traffic was a bedlam as ever. Street urchins were gambling, as usual, under the very nose of Delhi cops. The markets were thronged by jostling crowds. The flower-vendors were vending odoriferous bouquets. The children were noisy and impetuous as usual. The sweet meat shops were doing brisk business.

The ladies as usual were haggling with grocers. The young coxcombs flaunted the streets. The artless ingénues, like peacocks, strutted in the markets. Delhi looked picturesque and distinctively unique. There was something else which made this day seem unique to Kuldeep. Her house would welcome Banta as a bridegroom: Kuldeep's father the snobbish wealthy contractor would have to garland his son-in-law. This part of the ceremony would be the most agonising testing time for the vainglorious contractor.

Kuldeep, diamondised and bedecked with costly ornaments, in her spotless white saree looked serene. A specialist lady enchased her delicate hands and feet with floral designs of henna. Her big almond eyes made blackish with antimony powder were aglow with hope and confidence. They were glimmering with desire. She simply looked seraphic. A bevy of beautiful Sikh girls surrounded her. They with great jollity were humming marriage songs. Another group of attractive girls was doing Bangra *. Their stately figures in perfect unison would swing to and fro, and feet shuffle instinctively, in rhythm with the tunefulness of the Punjabi music.

Kuldeep was lost in profound thought. She was oblivious to the musicality going around her. She was lost in a profound vision of a blissful future.

In South Delhi, on the same day at day break, seated around an oval office table in a small cubicle a few middle-aged men were engrossed in a heated discussion. The eldest participant was near about fifty; His ash grey whiskers, bleary eyes, pouting lips made him look like a wild tomcat. The youngest was rotund and sag-bellied. He had a strange contorted face. His hands and feet were soft and plump. Fat was hanging down loosely from all sides of his enormous body. He looked like a massive Dinosaur. He

had an air of authority around him. He concluded the discussion; "Gentleman, said he, in a husky voice, "We have a historic mission to perform"; he paused for a moment, looked intensely at his stupefied audience with expressionless faces, and then intoned again in a raucous voice "I wish you best of luck". He sank into his chair. The meeting was concluded. The goofy, grey-haired wizened faces with quizzical glances eyed each other. Slowly the Congress-I MPs came out of the musty building. One of them waved a small green flag to a convoy of trucks waiting on the roadside. The convoy was jampacked with young people armed with knives, pick-axes, swords, daggers, revolvers, moltov bombs, petrol cans, bricks, rocks, stones, iron rods. The long convoy ran out at great speed and soon was out of sight. With the blessings of Congress MPs, operation Delhi had begun:

The opposition parties in India, and freelance journalists charged the congress (I) party for having conceived operation Delhi, a diabolic plan with the satanic objective of systematic extermination of Sikhs in Delhi. Several MPs were named who blessed this horrendous operation. The Govt of India did not take any action against the culprits. These organised gangs of hoodlums swooped down upon Sikh population and decimated them in a masterful, orchestrated decisive action. Citizens' Commission headed by a former Chief Justice of India (Sikri Commission) found many of the charges true.

On that same day, the care-crazed mother of Banta, in her bailiwick, the kitchen, was arranging utensils. It was the last house-hold chore to be done that day. Then she would dress up in her new clothes and join the bridegroom's party waiting for her with great anxiety. At 12 O'clock, the party would march triumphantly to the

bride's house. Banta looked handsome in his white turban, kurta and lungi. It was the finest hour of his life. His finest dreams had come true. Soon the group heard a strange noise coming from the distance. Then there was crack of rifle fire. Now the crescendo of hellish commotion was steadily growing in intensity. The cacophony of confused voices, the screaming, the yelling portended something evil, but nobody knew what the hubbub was all about. From a distance, clouds of billowing smoke could be seen. One could even hear the crashing of houses, the clanging of iron rods, the blasting of bombs. Banta, his aged mother and the marriage party went up to the Kotha* of the house, sensing trouble. Hardly had they reached the Kotha, a convoy of forty or fifty trucks came to a screeching halt near their door. Groups of angry men, with tonsured heads, brandishing knives and swords, shouting filthy abuses surrounded the house. None of the inmates of the house could understand this hullaballoo. In the pandemonium that prevailed, nobody would tell them anything. One thing was obvious. The rioters had come to avenge Indira Gandhi's assassination. The furious mob, huddled together in a menacing fashion was spraying the ramshackle hutch with jets of foaming petrol. The little hut was put to flames. The brick red flames leapt up to the skies. The rioters cheered with glee when the inmates of the house scurried from one corner of the roof to another in a futile bid to save themselves from being roasted alive. The jollification of the rioting crowd at the helplessness of these few Sikhs, showed the vehemence of the satanic passion that had goaded them to a bestial vendetta. The people trapped on the roof had the Hobson's choice, to jump down from the inferno. The first to leap down was Banta, followed by his shriveled rickety mother. The others could not extricate themselves from the fire.

Banta was impaled upon a spear by a burly youth. The pleading of his mother felt on deaf ears. The punsters rollicking with a sense of sweet revenge went in a procession to Kuldeep's house. The door was broken open. The inmates were overpowered, trussed and pinioned like birds. Banta's dead body was thrown at Kuldeep's feet. Then with roaring laughter this gang of Lucifer's killed the men folk. The women were stripped and raped. The old lady with muted silence saw the deflowering of her daughter-in-law by a hundred or more men in quick succession. When they left, Kuldeep was left a corps, nude, scared and bruised from head to feet. To the old lady, everything seemed a nightmare. How many other Sikh marriage parties met the same fate? We do not know. But the Delhi riots have now come to an end. The tranquility has returned to the city.

Those who organised the riots are applying healing touch to the smarting wounds of the Sikh community.

After dusk, stalking gingerly the streets of Delhi is a spooky, haggard, ghastly, shrivelled feminine figure, raking the gutters for crumbs of bread. People avoid her as if she is a doppelganger. Very few knew her identity. She is the mother of the unknown painter Banta Singh who died during Hindu Sikh riots. How far this story is true and how far this is an exaggeration nobody knows. But one thing is certain that such stories are still being rumored and people believe them. The rioters of 1984 have not been punished by any court. Will they ever be punished nobody knows.

The author is not sure if the names of the dramatis personae of this episode have any reality or even if this episode ever eventuated but such rumored stories reflect the agony of two ethnic groups in Delhi and elsewhere in

India. In fact the author heard this bizarre story while commuting in a bus in Delhi.

The Primitive Patriotism of the feminised Hindu majority found ego satisfaction by the successful officially orchestrated campaign of rape, pillage, plunder of the Sikh minority in Delhi. High Caste Hindus held lavish fete in honour of the heroes who had displayed exceptional valour in deflowering Sikh demoiselles. Encomiums were publicly showered upon them. The rapists were eulogised as saviours of the nation. This wanton blood-letting did cement Hindu vote. The victory of the high-caste dominated Congress (I) party at the hustings was assured. A few months after operation Delhi, general elections were held in India. Congress (I) swept the polls with an unprecedented landslide victory. The Brahmins Raj in India had come to stay. Delhi butchery had one other blatant signification. Killing of Sikhs in Delhi would serve as an exemplar for timorous Kashmiris. The Kashmir tangle was essentially politico-psychological in character. It was disparate from the minorities' problem in India. The Brahmins regarded Indian Muslims and Sikhs as converts from the lowest strata of Hindu society. They were those untouchables who had gone out of the Hindu fold to escape the cruel caste system. Even before their conversions to other faiths they were an anathema to the High Caste. Kashmiri Muslims were different. They were originally high castes Brahmins who were forced to embrace Islam by Pathan rulers. They had accepted Islam to escape the whiplash of Afghan tyranny. The Brahmins regarded them as cousins, who would not sever their umbilical cord with the parent caste. The pristine purity of an Islamic state had never appealed to Sheik Abdullah. He was the undisputed leader of the Kashmiri Muslims. He never identi-

fied himself either with the concept of pan Islamism or with Muslim interests in India. He regarded Pakistan as a nightmarish reality. He openly advocated the idea that Kashmiri nationalism was an extension of India nationalism. It need not be repeated that Indian nationalism was a euphemism for Brahmanism. Some scholars in the past went to the extent of characterising Islam in Kashmir as a metamorphic form of Shaivism. Idol worship in Kashmir was replaced by shrine worship. Holy Quran was recited in mosques and shrines in Bhajan style. People more believed in saints than in Almighty God. The association between the Shaivite philosophy and Kashmirian Islam had produced a hybrid culture. Nehru-Sheikh caucus preached the idea that Kashmiri Islam was unsafe in an Indian Muslim state. As such Kashmir must retain its identity. Under the influence of Sheikh Abdullah the Muslim Conference shed its Muslim character in 1938. The new National Conference party was to prove Kashmir's ball and socket articulation with India. Jinnah was not astute enough to realise the implications of the historical causes that had coupled Abdulla's National Conference with Nehru's Congress. He did not understand that the Muslim conference in Kashmir was an atrophied, withered organ. Its Muslim character was its greatest drawback. Sheikh Abdullah, a three or four generation Brahmin Muslim in his public speeches painted a dismal picture of Kashmir's past. He would associate the Afghan tyranny in Kashmir with the savagery perpetrated by a Muslim state upon the people of Kashmir. He openly declared Kashmir could not have an Islamic character. He preached the theory that anything connected with Islam in India was sullied with memories of crimes against humanity, of savage acts, of brutal deeds, of unspeakable cruelties. In sum and substance he advocated the non-accession of Kashmir to Pakistan. His thesis was simple, if Kashmir acceded to Pakistan, Punjabis would overwhelm Kashmiri Muslims. Sheikh openly said that Kashmirian roots were more firmly implanted in the ancient shaivite culture than in the strict orthodoxy of Islam. He regarded Hinduism as something malleable, amorphous, and delightful vague. He thought that Hinduism could accommodate within its fold the Islam of the valley. It is a sad fact of Indian history that Islamic ethos and culture failed to provide any connecting link between Kashmir and Indian Muslims. This resulted in total rejection by Kashmiris of the idea of an Islamic state in the subcontinent. The irresistible urge of the shaivite Muslims to join their matrix, the High caste dominated India became an actuality in 1947. However, the Islamic Pakistan reacted sharply to this turn of events. Pakistan wanted to wrench away Kashmir by force for strategic reasons. The 1947 Indo-Pakistan clash upon Kashmir proved a bona vacantia for the disputants. From the standpoint of Sheik Abdullah, Kashmir dispute provided to Kashmiris opportunities for rapid progress. They could bargain with both disputants. This feud between Indian and Pakistan for gaining the control of "Switzerland of Asia" placed Kashmiris in the position of a liege-lord viz-a-viz both the states. A disputed Kashmir also suited Pakistan. They knew the major part of the Indian budget would be fooled away in maintaining occupation of the valley. They anticipated this fool-born dispute would be a mill-stone around Indian neck. Another significant consequence would be the extension of Indian borders to China in Ladakh. The two expansionist powers would clash with each other. The aftermath would be leaky Indian finances. From Indian view point Kashmir was essential for realisation of the ultimate objective of "Greater India". It would be a launching pad for gaining control of Nepal,

Pakistan and Afghanistan. India like a sponge would mop up all her neighbours. The Soviet Russia and U .S.A. were equally interested in a disputed Kashmir. Soviet Russia calculated the clash between India and China would force India to lean towards it. The United States also anticipated that in such a situation Pakistan would become its outpost. One has to admit this mutuality of interests of the various rival powers has kept alive the Kashmir dispute. Kashmir dispute is not a picayune matter. It is a vast quagmire, a suppurating wound in West Asia. Kashmir's accession to India was the brainchild of the British. It became the corner-stone of British-American strategy to contain Russia in West Asia. To counteract this menace Russia was forced to occupy Afghanistan and to get bogged down in the quicksand of Afghan resistance movement. This dispute has created a new transfiguration of forces in this region.

Nehru knew that even if Sheikh Abdullah did not support Kashmir's accession to India, the weak-willed Hindu Maharaja would under the compulsion of circumstances accede to India. Sheikh Abdullah also knew on which side his bread would be buttered on. He unhesitatingly threw his weight behind Kashmir's accession to India.

During Indian Freedom struggle the Congress Brahmins were hand in glow with the British. The Maharaja of Kashmir was a Rajput. In fact majority of the Rajas in India were Rajputs. They were afraid of Brahmin influence growing in their princely states. The Britisher's wanted to clip the wings of Rajput Rajas. They instigated agitation in the princely states. In early thirties, Sheikh Abdullah, a high school teacher, was chosen by them to stage-manage demonstrations against the Hindu Maharaja. The uprising of 1931, against Maharaja Hari Singh

was blessed by the British resident. This agitation was meant to pave the way for transfer of power to the Brahmins. Ironically it were the Muslims of Kashmir who on religious grounds raised the banner of revolt. However, in 1938, Abdullah openly joined hands with Indian National Congress. In 1947 he piloted Kashmir's accession to India. He was rewarded with the Prime Minister-ship of the battered state.

Abdullah's rule in Kashmir from 1947 to 1953 was a period of unexcelled tyranny. His regime surpassed the savagery of the Sikh rule in Kashmir. It was an interminable period of lawlessness. Every National Conference hoodlum had become a centre of cruel authority. Even the meanest party worker was law unto himself. Every Kashmiri Muslim was considered a fifth columnist. A wild confusion prevailed in the administration. The Government was paranoid about the Muslim intelligentsia. Any poppy-cock story by an informer was sufficient evidence to incarcerate a citizen. Every cop on the beat was a symbol of unmitigated terror. Any sprucely dressed man walking down the street was politically suspect. The politically suspect people were stripped of their trousers on the streets by National Conference toughs. No one was safe on the streets. The witch hunt of Muslims was pursued with zeal. Listening to radio Pakistan in the privacy of one's home was an act of high treason. No one dared to approach the court of law for redress. In his public speeches, Sheik Abdullah tried to justify the accession of Kashmir to India. Nobody took his balderdash seriously. The pauperised Kashmiri Muslims were miserable and grieving. They regarded Kashmir's accession to India as a scourge of God for their great sinfulness. The common man was helpless. His great expectations while support-

ing Kashmir's accession to India had proved moonshine. The National Conference post-1947 ceased to represent the sentiments of the people. It had become a conglomeration of paid gangsters, mobsters, desperados, hooligans, hoodlums and delinquents. It was supported by petty shopkeepers of the city of Srinagar. It had no base in rural Kashmir.

Before the partition*, National Conference party was handmaid of Indian National Congress. It was utilised by the Congress Brahmins to humiliate the Dogra Maharaja into submission. The Congress Brahmins had consolidated their hold upon Kashmir through the instrumentality of the National Conference party. Historically speaking, the National Conference party of Kashmir was the brain-child of the Congress Brahmins. The Brahmins in 1953 demanded the complete merger of the National Conference with Indian National Congress. At this juncture, Sheik Abdullah realised his political future was in jeopardy. The Brahmins in Congress had used him as tissue paper and would now cast him aside into the trashcan of history. He revolted against Nehru. On 9th August 1953 he was deposed and incarcerated. He became the symbol of Kashmir's resistance to India. Overnight the master turncoat became a stormy hero. The people generously forgave his past faults. He was deified. Nehru was shocked beyond belief. The Kashmiri Muslims were striving for independence. The Brahmin calculations had proved wrong. It was obvious Muslims wanted to sever their umbilical cord with India. The Brahmins felt they were at their worst in Kashmir. 9th August, 1953 was celebrated as a day of protest. People took to streets. They were gripped with a wild frenzy, the like of which the valley had never seen before. According to unofficial reports,

fifteen hundred people were gunned down by the police. The whole valley was turned into one vast concentration camp. The people's fury seemed uncontrollable. A plague of uncertainty was ravaging the verdured vale. For the first time since independence, the Muslims of the valley stood united and determined to fight India. The battle lines were drawn. The entire valley was rent asunder with the shouts of "we want plebiscite". The astute politicians could discern the beginning of an armed revolt against India. Pakistan was openly supporting the anti-India campaign in Kashmir. It seemed as if India would bow out from Kashmir. Yet destiny willed otherwise. The luck was on the side of India. The Kashmiris were brazen-facedly betrayed by Mirza Afzal Beg. He had entered into a secret deal with Nehru. Beg was known as Sheik Abdullah's sancho panza. He was five feet three inch tall, an outlandish rustic who hailed from the town of Anantnag. In public life, he was an uncouth bumpkin with subtle aggressive humor. He was regarded as a swell-headed politician. Nehru, the level-headed Brahmin known for his cunning in politics, had conceived the idea of a Plebiscite Front in Kashmir. The Plebiscite Front would be financed by the central government. It would set for its objective the prevention of the underground resistance movement from taking to armed struggle against India. Beg, the servile lackey of New Delhi would use all the repertoire of claptrap to preach the cant of constitutional struggle for plebiscite. The inane Don Quixote of Kashmir politics S.M. Abdullah would never be able to discover the intrigue. The people of the valley would be easily tricked by the flashy slogan of plebiscite.

Nehru machinations came to fruition in 1956. Mirza Afzal Beg, the nimble-witted rustic from the town of

Anantnag, publicly converted National Conference into Plebiscite Front. Sheikh Abdullah fatuously gave his blessings to the Front. The Plebiscite Front achieved its objective of frittering away the fury of the underground resistance movement. It openly renounced armed struggle against India. Non-violent struggle against the British rule in India was touted as an act of statesmanship and tactical nous by the British themselves. The Kashmiri public opinion was deluded and taken in by this worthless title-tattle.

Meantime Bakshi Ghulam Mohamad had been installed as Prime Minister of Kashmir. Bakshi's rule was the dark period in Kashmir's history. He was an up-start and a dishonest man. He would not hesitate to use dishonest, dishonourable, unscrupulous, fraudulent methods to win over or hassle his political adversaries. He believed in the Machiavellian theory that every man had his price. He worked upon this theory with zeal. He encouraged dishonest practices in the administration. He promoted graft amongst the civil servants. He was like a fatal pestilence that would corrupt the young and the old alike. He debased the national character, debauched the Kashmiri youth, and contaminated the moral consciousness of the people. He created a powerful class of parvenus, the P.W.D contractors, the forest lessees, the transporters, the carriage contractors who would support his policy of carrot and stick. Those who dared defy him, were put on the rack. They were terrorised, bullied, coerced into submission. His torturous methods struck terror in the valley. Those who supported him got the carrot. His avarice was unlimited. In search of more and more pelf he fell like a rotten apple into the lap of Pakistani intelligence. In 1964, New Delhi axed him. Shamas-ud-Din,

his successor hardly survived for three months. He was shunted out for his inept handling of the Holy Relic agitation in 1964. He was succeeded by G.M. Sadiq, an arm-chair politician. As a man, Sadiq was an epitome of inertia. He would shirk responsibility and cringe in face of danger. He was the only Prime Minister who would be cowed down by his meanest subordinate. He was a man of indecision, a perfect milk-toast. His political poltroonery was his virtue. Indira Gandhi regarded him as an innocuous politician. In fact she had some soft corner for this well-mannered, polished, soft spoken boot lick. The only unique thing about Sadiq was his penchant for revolutionary literature. He would in the privacy of his toilet, read insurrectionary literature. It was his deep seated ambition to play a stormy petrel in politics. His timidity never allowed him to actualise his dream. He died a disconsolate sad man.

After Nehru's death rapid political changes took place in the sub-continent. In 1971, the geographical absurdity called Pakistan was dismembered into the states of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The Kashmiris were brainwashed and disillusioned. The stormy petrels of the Plebiscite Front had degenerated into a bunch of sloganeers. Most of them were reduced to the status of the run of the mill, double agents. They were financed both by India and Pakistan. At gross-root level, a feeling of ennui had enmeshed the party. The decrepitude of the Kashmiri nationalism was evident from the character of the uninspiring political struggle. The Kashmiri culture was declassed. India pursued the policy of colonialism in Kashmir. The state was not industrialised. Its economy was not allowed to be autonomous. Five year plans were started from the strategic objective of linking military installa-

tions. A network of roads and highways sprang up. The economic policy was aimed to augment inflation in the state. Kashmir's prosperity under Indian Rule was moonshine. The various economic plans had a limited objective, to create a new class of vested interests, consisting of nova riche, snug political mavericks, avaricious lessees, money-grabbing contractors, ravenous orchardists, penny-pinching carpet dealers, corrupt civil servants who would support Indian rule in Kashmir. For the local people, especially in the rural areas, Indian army became the biggest industry. It became a dependable market for the local tradesmen. It provided labour opportunities to the people. It was in the interest of these petty capitalists and local tradesmen to support the presence of army in Kashmir. This new class of vested interests bought for peanuts the revolutionary zeal of the freedom fighters. Sheikh Abdullah realised that it was futile to be involved in a joust with India. He had become a hard-headed realist. He was supplicating the central Govt. for a compromise. He was prepared to act as a mean surrogate of Indian hegemony in Kashmir. Indira Gandhi put him back in the saddle. He was made the Chief Minister of the battered state. With Sheik Abdullah as the chief puppet, the Indian puppets on strings in Kashmir were stage-managing a political marionette show of great interest. Indira-Sheikh accord was the last nail in the coffin of Kashmiri nationalist movement. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan called it the last monumental mistake of "the lion of Kashmir". Saturnine mood prevailed in the valley. The secret Brahmin Cabal in Congress (I) was bloating over its success in Kashmir. The common man in the street believed the Indian Brobdingnagian was invincible. The numbskull politicians of National Conference pontificated the masses to accept reality. They wanted some guarantees within India Union.

The people were totally indifferent to what was going on around them.

Sheikh Abdullah the ineffectual leader of Kashmiri revolt died a feebleminded, sorrowful old man. His only mission in the fall of his life was to install his eldest son as the Chief Minister. He did succeed in his last mission. The Kashmiris were the one who had lost the battle. This turn of events was a crude off-colour political joke. The wheel of fortune had taken a full turn. Once again history had repeated itself. Kashmir in future would again be ruled by the cheats, the double dealers, the rogues, the tricksters, the deceivers, Lucifers: No Moses would ever descend upon this land from the high heavens for the deliverance of its people. I share the agony of the faceless little men who for centuries past have suffered in muted silence the stone-hearted persecution. The beauty of the verdured vale bedazzles my mind. I ask myself the nagging question. Is life an ocean of misery punctuated with ripples of laughter? I ask the query why people are suffering interminable misery. To answer this question, I may reiterate we have to bear down upon the problem of political vicissitudes of political parties in India. We have to understand the psychology of the leaders who guided the freedom struggle in India. We will have to undertake an in-depth characterological study of the father of the nation, M.K. Gandhi.

At this stage we will have to take a hard look at Gandhian philosophy of non-violence. To appreciate, evaluate and comprehend the very subtle intricacies and thoroughly tangled complexities of the Gandhian political thought, that runs through the highly colourful skin of his recondite conception of Ahimsa as an instrument of political action as practised by the Indian National

Congress, in the beginning of the twentieth century. We will have to profoundly and painstakingly plumb the historical backdrop of events that ultimately influenced the political struggle in India.

The question arises why did Ahimsa or struggle through non-violence, had such a shaking impact upon the Indian mind? Is the concept of non-violence as preached by Gandhi in congruity with the norms of traditional Hindu thought? What does Gandhian concept of non-violence actually connote and what is its true ambit and scope in the present day Indian politics? These are some of the key queries of far reaching importance for study by students of politics in India.

Before I endeavour to analytically comprehend the essential questions and strive to dialectically assay the various aspects associated with these mind-boggling queries, I would like to caution the reader that any effort in this behalf would prove utterly futile, unless we keep our sights set upon ancient Indian history, especially the tumultuous period that commenced with the advent of Islam in India.

A question which is frequently being asked by the students of Indian politics is was it the ferocity of Turkish Mussalman that subdued the otherwise superior Indian culture? In other words, was the advent of Islam in India the triumph of truculent feral barbarity over an ancient docile civilisation? The English historians have projected Indian history from this highly tendentious angle to create a great divide between the Hindu and the Muslim communities in India. They have assiduously projected a viewpoint that Hindu civilisation was a paradigm of exquisiteness that got inevitably overwhelmed by the savagery of Turkish Muslims. Late E.V. Havel in his book, *The History of Aryan Rule in India,* published by George. G. Barras and Company Ltd. London, opines:-

"From a political point of view, the Arab conquest of Sindh was a comparatively insignificant event in the Mohammadan world and it has been treated as such by Anglo-Indian historian. But the importance of the conquest for its effect upon the whole culture of Islam has been little understood. For the first time, the nomads of Arabian desert with their more cultured brethren of the Arabian Littoral, fired with the religious fervour of the Prophet of Mecca, found themselves in the holy land of the Aryans in close contact with Indo-Aryan civilization, which from all points of view, politically, economically and intellectually, had reached a far higher place than their own. The sultans of Sindh entered into friendly relations with the powerful Hindu kings of the Rashtra Kuta line who permitted the Arabs not only to establish mercantile settlements within their dominions along the west coast, but to build mosques and live according to law of Islam.

To the poetic imagination of the Arab tribesmen, India with its gorgeous temples and monasteries carved in the living rock, its palaces fortresses and magnificent irrigation works of massive masonry, must have seemed a land of wonders, of djinns and great magicians.

"The Arab chieftains might hate the Kshatriya warrior and despise the Buddhist and Brahman monk, but they were charmed by the skill of Indian musicians and the cunning of Hindu painter."

Their young fighting men discovered that the lotus-eyed maidens of the twice-born were as fair hour is of their desert dreams. The Indian craftsmen were as indis-

pensable to the Muslim city builders as they had been to the Indo-Aryan kings.

The dome of the temple Mandapam, shorn of its exuberant symbolism which was so offensive to the unsophisticated mentality of the Arab, because of the thing it spoke of, were beyond the range of his philosophy, became the dome of Muslim mosque and tomb.

The simplified symbolism of Muslim rituals were all borrowed from India. The pointed arch of the prayer carpet, and Mihrab - afterwards the characteristic feature of Sarcenic architecture was the symbolic arch of the Buddhist and Hindu shrine.

The horse-shoe arch was the sun-window of Buddhist chaitya halls and Hindu temples.

The minarets of the mosque were adaptations of Indian towers of victory, which were an elaboration of Indo-Aryan royal standards.

The cathedral mosques of Muslim royalty were oriented like the Vishnu temple and their entrances corresponded to the temple Gopurams and the gates of Indo-Aryan village.

Finally under Turkish domination, the ensign of Islam became the crescent moon, Siva's bow, which had been the symbol of India, the land of the moon, or of India's holy land, Arya Varsha, ages before the Prophet of Mecca was born.

In Sindh, the Arab Sheikh had their first practical lessons in Indo-Aryran statecraft under the guidance of their Brahmin officials. They learnt to adapt their own primitive patriarchal polity to the complicated problems of a highly organised system of government evolved by centuries of Aryan imperial rule. Soon after the Arabs established themselves in the Indus Valley, the victory of Charles Martel at the battle of Tours saved Western Europe from Muslim Rule and the empire of Charlemagne (A.D. 771-814) was the political counterpoise in the West to the Caliphate of Baghdad under the Abbasid dynasty. It was in Mesopotamia, especially in the glorious days of Harunul-Rashid (786-809) that the foundations of Sarcanic culture were laid.

The court language, etiquette and literary accomplishments were borrowed from the Iranian branch of Aryan civilisation, in the centre of which the founders of the Abbasid dynasty had been nurtured. But all the scientific elements, which formed the Arabic scholarship and in latter times made it famous in Europe - philosophy, mathematics, Astronomy and medicine were in eighth century borrowed directly from India.

Through the Arab occupation of the Indus and Euphrates Valleys, Islam was enabled to tap the inexhaustible resources of India, spiritual and material, and to become the agents for their distribution over the whole of Europe, a relationship which continued to exist long after the outlaying territories of Islam of Europe had asserted their independence of the Caliphate of Baghdad.

Every student of the history of Arab civilization must recognize the great impetus it gave to European learning; but Muslim historians are prone to ignore the debt of the Arabs to the Indo-Aryan culture, and thus to form an exaggerated opinion of the creative work of Islam in India. The knowledge of chemistry, medicine and pharmacy, mathematics and Astronomy, which the Arabs disseminated in Europe, was almost wholly derived from Indian sources, Their sudden intellectual awakening and great devotion to learning can hardly be attributed to the influ-

ence of teaching of Islam, which made the Houri, the depository of all knowledge necessary for spiritual and intellectual sustenance of the faithful.

It was not in Western Schools of dark ages, that they could have caught the enthusiasm of the scholar. The great universities of North-Western India, which were famous throughout Asia for the very sciences in which the Arabs afterwards excelled, had all the tradition of scholarship and the subtle intellectual atmosphere which stimulate the mental activity of the student.

And in the early days of the Arab conquests, before Islam could boast of any University of its own, these were the schools to which the high born Arab Youth in Persia and India would go in quest of knowledge."

I have quoted a very lengthy excerpt from the book of Havel to illustrate that English historians in India tendentiously endeavoured to substantiate that at the time of advent of Islam in India, the Hindu civilisation was at its acme and was unjustifiably overwhelmed by the barbarians from West Asia. Havel alone is not a detractor of Muslim rule in India. Other English historians for political considerations have attempted to distort Indian history to create a hiatus between Hindu and Muslim community in India. Every effort has been made by these scholars to poison Hindu mind against Muslims by inventing reckless fanciful events of a wild character adding to the turbidity of historicity. In this behalf, not a single statement made by Havel is supported by any historical data. This is indeed extra-ordinarily striking that a work of history is not only totally bereft of historical details but finds scurrilous vituperative abuse directed against Muslim community as an able foil for itself. Muslims in India have purposely been portrayed in poor light as invaders who

set for themselves the sole objective of pillage and plunder, the remorseless and heartless barbarians who incessantly committed the sacrilege of the sanctum sanctorum called India. The English historians were least interested in facts of history. The supper ardent desire that motivated them was to secure the imperial interests of the British rule in India. The policy of divide and rule was the main plank of their grand strategy. They unhesitatingly sowed the dragon's teeth of internecine feud, and animosity between the two capital segments that had formed the main bulwark of the Indian polity. A new research in Indian history is the crying need of the hour. We should not forget that the two communities, the Hindus and the Muslims, for centuries past have coexisted with each other and weaved a texture of Indian culture that has survived the vicissitudes of history.

About Havel suffice it to say that he is rabidly anti-Muslim and his raging rabidity fuelled by implacable malevolence compels him to make bold assertions that call for a short comment.

Assertion No. 1

> *"For the first time nomads of the Arabian desert with their more cultured brethren of the Arabian littoral, fired with religious fervour of the Prophet of Mecca, found themselves in the holy land of the Aryans in close contact with Indo-Aryan civilisation, which from all points of view, politically, economically and intellectually, had reached a far higher place than their own."*

Comment

The bold assertion that Indo-Aryan civilisation at the time of advent of Islam in India was from "all points of view, politically economically and intellectually on a

higher plane than Arab civilisation is a cryptic statement unsupported by any historical authentic materials. The paucity of genuine facts reduces this exaggerated statement to the level of banal rhetoric. On the contrary, there is sufficient historical data available to the students of West Asian history that indicates that Havel in this behalf is factually unsound. Indian historians tell us that at the time of advent of Islam in India the Indian polity was fashioned upon the inviolable precepts of Manu. This Hindu law-giver laid down disastrous misogynous social-cum-legal principles, openly nurtured by elitist Hindus that said, "For women, there can be no freedom and thus condemning the better half of humanity to utter damnation".

Womenfolk were dehumanised and reduced to the status of an object, bereft of personality and tainted with deficiencies that made them worth to be despised. Elitist Hinduism of that period flourished upon exploitation of man by man. Religious advantages and spiritual benefits became the monopoly of the elitist Hindus. Casteism was well-entrenched and became a procrustean cruelty. Hinduism of that period left no stone unturned to widen the schism between the castes. The low-caste and have-note became willing slaves to the elitist Hindus. Doctrine of Karma effectively precluded the underprivileged classes of society from expatriating themselves from social ignominiousness. The economic degeneration of the low-caste Hindus was simply appalling. Their personality was utterly riddled with the taint of stigma forcing them to lead an animal existence. During this particular period of Indian history, no great work of art, literature, philosophy or science came into existence. This period marked the beginning of the decline of the Hindu society. The assertions of Havel attributing an aura of glory to this period

is sheer rhetoric. So when Muslims invaded India, the common masses remained aloof from the gory battles, leading to subjugation of north India.

Assertion No. 2

"In all arts of peace, India then stood at the pinnacle of her greatness."

Comment

This extravagant statement is grounded solely upon wild conjectures. On the contrary the verity is that no work of literature, art or philosophy pertaining to this period is extant. Most of the Indian historians opine that this was the period of social degeneration and political stagnation. It is a sad reflection on English historians that very often they have not hesitated to demonise fiction to pollute truth. Havel's bias towards Muslims is blatant. His work on Indian history is a huge conglomeration of utter rubbish. His purposefully chosen tendentious commentative remarks have the vicious tendency to accentuate hatred between Indian Muslims and Hindus. Havel alone is not an Islam-baiter, other English historians of his ilk like Elphinstone, Vincen Smith have also garbled facts and projected an image that was conducive to the interests of the British Raj.

Assertion No. 3

"The dome of temple Mandapam, shorn of its exuberant symbolism which was so offensive to the unsophisticated mentality of the Arabs because of the things it spoke of' became the dome of Muslim mosque and tomb."

Comment

This assertion is tosh. This historian disregards the fact that Sindh was annexed by the Caliphate in the year 712 A.D. By that point of time, West-Asia had suffered a

climactic metamorphosis, making Arabs the unquestioned masters of Syria, Iraq, Persia and Egypt. Towards the east, Muslims had obtained complete supremacy over outer-Mongolia, Bukhara, Tashkand and Samarqand. The mosques of that era were already familiar with dome and arch. The dome temple of Mandapam was totally irrelevant to Arab architecture. To characterise Arabs with "unsophisticated mentality" is a wry statement gravid with malevolence. Pointed Arch of the prayer carpet and Mihrab were already a part of the Arab culture. He further says that "the simplified symbolism of Muslim ritual was all borrowed from India." This is to gild the falsity. Phillip K. Hitti, a perceptive scholar on Islamic history has acknowledged the highly sophisticated mentality of the Arabs of that period in these words.

> *"The Muslim Arabians become through their conquest of fertile crescent, heir to those early empires. They also inherited south Arabian culture, which flourished for over a thousand years before Islam. The biblical queen of Sheeba was of South Arabian origin".*

Thus Arabs were profoundly influenced by South Arabian culture rather than the Aryan civilisation.

Assertion No. 4

> *"But all the scientific elements which formed Arab scholarship in latter times made it famous in Europe. Philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and medicine were in 8th century borrowed directly from India".*

Comment

The historical fact is that an Indian traveller in 773 A.D. brought to Baghdad a treatise on Astronomy. This treatise was translated into Arabic by AI-Fazari. From this

solitary instance Havel has concluded that entire Arab scholarship was borrowed from India. This work was so pedestrian that the famous Arab astronomer Al. Khwarul Zami only made a passing reference to it while discussing the work of AI-Fazari. It is not the Indian but the Greek influence that shaped the Arab thought during the eight/ninth century. It would be rewarding to quote Philip-K-Hitti in this behalf. Says Hitti:

> *"At the time of conquest of the Fertile Crescent, the intellectual legacy of Greece was unquestionably the most precious treasure at hand. Hellenism consequently became the most vital of all foreign influences in Arab life. The height of Greek influence was reached under Al-Mamun. The rationalistic tendencies of this Caliph led him to philosophical works of the Greeks for the justification of its position that religious texts should agree with the judgment of reason. In 830, he established in Baghdad his famous "house of wisdom" a combination of library, academy and translation bureau, which in many respects proved the most important educational institution, since the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum in the first half of the third century B.C."*

Down to this time, sporadic translations had been done independently by Christians, Jews, and recent converts to Islam. Beginning with AI-Mamun, and continuing under his immediate successors the work was centred mainly in the newly founded academy. The Abbasid Era of translation lasted about a century after 750 A.D., since most of the translators were Aramaic speaking, many of the Greek works were first translated into Aramaic (Syriac), before their translation (rendition) into Arabic.

Aramaic was the language the Christ spoke. The translators into Arabic did not interest themselves in Greek production of literary type. No close contact was established between the Arab mind and Greek drama, Greek poetry and Greek History. In that field Persian influence remained paramount. It was Greek philosophy as originated by Plato and Aristotle and expounded by latter Neo-platonists that served the starting point of the voyage of intellectual discovery.

The Sheik of translators, as Arab express it, was Hunayn- Ibn Ishaq (Joanitius 809-873 A.D.) one of the greatest scholars and noblest characters of the age. Hunayn was a Nestorian Christian from AI. Hirah, and as a youth acted as a dispenser to a physician. Taking as a challenge a chiding remark by the master that the people of A-Hira had no business with medicine, and that he had better go and change money in Bazaar, the lad left the service of his master in tears, but intent upon the study of Greek.

Among other books in Arabic, Hunayn is supposed to have prepared translation of Galen, Hippocrates and Discordes, as well as Plato's Republic and Aristotle's, Pategories physics and Magna Moralia.

Among his chief work was rendition into Syriac and Arabic of Galen's scientific outfit. The seven books of Galen's anatomy, lost in original Greek, have luckily been preserved in Arabic. Hunayn's Arabic version of old testament from the Greek Septuagint did not survive.

Hunayun's ability as a translator is affirmed by the report that he and other translators received about 50 Dinars (roughly 1200 dollars) per month and that AI-Mamun paid him in gold the weight of the books he translated. But he reached the summit of his glory not only as

translator but as a practitioner when he was appointed by the Caliph al-Mutawwakkil as his private physician. His patron however once committed him to jail for a year for refusing the offer of rich rewards to concoct poison for an enemy. When brought again before the Caliph and threatened with death, his reply was "I have skill only in what is beneficial and have studied naught else". Asked by the Caliph, who then claimed that he was simply testing his physician's integrity, what prevented him from preparing a deadly poison, Hunayn replied:

> *"Two things: my religion and my profession". My religion decrees that we should do good even to our enemies how much more to our friends. And my profession is instituted for the benefit of humanity and limited to their relief and cure. Besides, every physician is under oath never to give any one a deadly medicine".*

Before the age of translation was brought to an end practically all the extant works of Aristotle, many of which were of course spurious, had become accessible to Arabic reader. All this took place while Europe was totally ignorant of Greek thought and science, while Al. Rashid and al-Mamun, were delving into Greek and Persian philosophy. Their contemporaries in West, Charlemagne and his lords were reportedly dabbling in the art of writing their names".

Comment

This prolix extract from Hitti's "A Short History of the Arabs" points out the glorious achievements of the Arabs and knocks out the bottom of Havel's sap-headed assumptions that India and not Greek thought moulded Arab culture of' the eighth and ninth centuries. Havell's stupidity reaches its acme with his tendentious assump-

tion that Arab scholarship was cast in the mould of India's literary and philosophic thought and that the Arab in India, was simply mesmerised by the Brahmanical erudition. The historical verity is that at the advent of Islam in India, the Brahmanical scholarship had become stagnant due to the vicious influence of social decadence, and a pall of gloom had engulfed India. The Hindu scholarship had not even heard the name of Aristotle or other Greek masters and Indian philosophy was circumscribed by the limits set upon itself by the indigenous Vedas and was completely cut off from other influences. The Indian scholarship had become esoteric, recondite, incomprehensible and insular for the common man. The age of translation had not even commenced in India. The rigidity built in the claustrophobic Indian scholarship only buttressed the vested interests of the elitist class. Havel and other rabidly anti-Muslim English historians turn a blind eye to this facet of social turbidity of Indian polity but go on to execute a tendentious picturisation of exquisiteness of Indian scholarship to emphasis the imaginary theory that Muslims in India barbarically destroyed Indian glory. This approach to Indian history by the English historians has provoked narcissistic Hindu violence targeted towards Muslims in India. The power of this propaganda is so profound that even sixty two years after attaining independence, the free India has not been able to free itself of the great Hindu-Muslim divide. This dominant propaganda became the underpinnings of Indian political thought and ultimately brought into existence at the behest of the British the Indian National congress, the first political party in India to revive past glory. The British appeal to Indian nationalistic sentiments was an appeal to their sense of outrage suffered by them due to Muslim rule in India because Muslim rule in India was always portrayed by the

British as the main cause of the decline of utopian Aryan society. The truth is that Aryan society at the time of advent of Islam in India was neither utopian nor a paragon of excellence. Hinduism at that particular time only served the interests of a very minor segment of society forming the propertied or the elitist class. The Turks of that era were inheritors of a glorious civilisation. To call them barbaric is a perversion of history. In this behalf a capital query may be posited as to what we understand by Hinduism?

Hinduism eschews all concrete conditions. It is an oxymoron expression that makes it comprehensive enough to engulf within its ken elements of faith, while having no dogma to preach. Hence quintessentially it is amorphous. It is a conglomeration of conflicting philosophical thoughts that makes it many faceted. It is inextricably linked with Aryan superstitious customs and practices, sometimes diametrically opposed to each other so that it is not an organised religion. The Aryan rituals have been elevated to the high pedestal of religious beliefs. Its vagueness encompasses belief in nothingness or nonexistence of any supreme intelligence while at the same time emphasizing faith in the deity or deities. Hindu rationalists like Dr. Radhakrishnan and Pandit Nehru have tried to expatriate the essential characteristics of Hinduism from its reconditeness by defining it as a way of life, a way of life that proclaimed Aryan supremacy over the Dravidians of India. Hence Hinduism in its social dimensions is elitist. It was conducive to the Aryans to perpetuate their hegemony upon the original inhabitants of India. It is therefore hierarchical. Its chief attribute is organised priesthood. It aims at rationalising mutually contradictory practices and paradoxical beliefs, blending them into

a way of life that prevented revolt against Aryan supremacy. In this process truth became the monopoly of the Aryans and search for truth became their privilege. The low caste non-Aryan was debarred from making a search for truth. Hindu rationalist M.K. Gandhi expatiated: "If I were asked to define Hindu creed, I should simply say: "Search after truth through non-violence." Yet Gandhian definition that has added the dimension of "non-violence" to this concept is belied by bloodiest rituals sanctioned and accepted by certain Hindu sects who have been accepted to be a part of Hindu polity. Gandhi went to the extent of saying "A man may not believe in God and still can call himself a Hindu". However he proclaimed "Truth is God" and hence Hinduism became relentless pursuit of truth. Truth being an amorphous and relative term, Hinduism became all things to all men insofar as its philosophical content mattered. So far its social dimensions are concerned it remained replete with mythology and rituals oriented towards establishing Aryan supremacy in India. In this view of the matter Hinduism was not a religion but a political weapon forged by the Aryans to establish their political supremacy in India. The myth of Aryan superiority became the bedrock of Hindu culture. This made Hinduism somewhat narcissistic. The Aryans were not superior to the original inhabitants of India, yet they physically subdued them and created the myth of their racial superiority. They garbled the truth to establish their so-called superiority and invented rich mythology to convey this essential message. Their pursuit of truth was meant to subvert truth. There is no other way to understand Hindu mythology that forms an integral part of Hinduism. Hindu mythology cannot be brushed aside as "bright dreams and lovely fancies"**. They were not solely dug out from "gold mine of thought

and imagination."*. They were meant to achieve a social purpose. The social purpose was achieved by elevating mythology to the pedestal of truth so that the masses believed in the factuality of these lovely fancies, while the philosophic and hypothetic aspect of Hinduism became the monopoly of the elitist class. Nehru has commented:

> *"Mythology affected me in much the same way. If people believed in factual content of these stories, the whole thing was absurd and ridiculous".*

Yet history of India tells us that ordinary populace believed in these mythologies ardently. So in this perspective, the pursuit of truth through non-violence for the ordinary man in the street became an ordeal which had to be undergone through a baffling terrain of highly speculative, extremely unrealistic, thoroughly fanciful mythological phantasmagoria. Hindu elite succeeded in making Hindu mythology utterly phantasmatic for the ordinary man. At this stage of the development of Hinduism, this dichotomy becomes obvious-philosophic Hinduism for the elitist class and mythological Hinduism for the ordinary populace. The killing truth is that the mythological Hinduism was oriented firstly to assimilate the original inhabitants of India into its fold as low caste, and mythologies and beliefs were weaved into a fabric of doctrine of Karma that attributed the abject conditions of the weaker sections of society to the sins committed by them in the previous life. The assumption underlying this belief was that abject condition of this class in mundane affairs of life had a divine origin and this state of affairs could be overcome only through Karma promising reward in the next life. The validity of this assumption was absolved from any critical examination and the weaker sections of society were asked to accept their pre-ordained

fate. This doctrine focused attention on targets meant primarily to stymie the progressive urges of the low caste and to take away the initiative from these classes to organise themselves in a coherent manner. Thus the weaker sections of society were subjected to sustained economic degradation and were utterly deprived of all development. They were divested of the land holdings so that they were forced to become landless labourers in search of livelihood and were harassed to live in wretched conditions. The community resources of the village became the monopoly of the dominant segment of the society. Recitation of Vedic texts became the privilege of the upper classes. The low caste were deprived of education and constrained to take non-economic activity. These measures made the dominant class socially impregnable. The mythological Hinduism evolved customs and rituals that helped to create insuperable barriers between the affluent upper classes and the laity. Power and status became synonymous with high caste. The elitist Hinduism became the political arm of the rich. This ploy worked very efficaciously and succeeded in creating a class of untouchables, unseeables and unhearables. The other castes which were not high caste were chained to their vocations. This eliminated all possibilities of a sanguinary class struggle in the Hindu society. The main thrust of the mythological Hinduism was targeted exquisitely to mythicise imagination so that mythology could support customs uncritically accepted by the laity depriving the non-propertied class from the dogged pursuit of truth. This helped to build up economic hegemony of the propertied class. Thus Hinduism in India has gone through the travails of a social evolution for shaping a way of life that concentrated economic and political power in the hands of the dominant segment of society. This also explains the

fact that early Vedic religion is totally different from the latter Vedic religious thought. The early Vedic religion was religion of nature. It was influenced by the phenomenon of nature. It originated as a tribal religion. Each locality worshipped a local deity. Vedic mythology of the early period took its inspiration from the daily recurring phenomena. Sun down and sun rise became climacteric event of great interest to the primitive man. The sun became a symbol conducive to the sustenance of life and activity upon earth. This led to the worship of the sun. Natural phenomena beneficial to man became objects of awe and wonder. Rivers were revered, animals were domesticated. Wide-spread animism was prevalent. Animals were objectified as incarnation of divine spirits. The conception of gods as guardian angels of this world was still rudimentary. For the preservation of tribal coherence the tribal chief was worshipped as a symbol of social power, having some divinity. Natural forces superior to man were worshipped as gods. This evolution of early Vedic religion was not an isolated event. It was an inevitable extension of the growth of social life. All river valley civilisations testify to the fact that the early religions did not evolve in isolation but grew with the growth of society alongside with art, architecture, commerce, trade, transportation and other social events that help to establish social life. Nature worship was not the monopoly of Aryan civilisation but was a feature common to all river-valley civilisations. The nearest parallel is provided by Egyptian civilisation. G.T. Bettany writing for world religious series in 1892 gives a concise account of Egyptian civilization, which is worth quoting. Bettany says:

"Not less astonishing than the religions of India and probably more ancient in its advanced development, is

the religion of the early Egyptians, as it has been slowly recovered and pieced together in the present century. Many monuments and records have unfortunately perished, many are still buried and unexplored but those which have been rescued and explained, furnish us with undoubted facts, sufficient to give rise to ideas of highly developed form of religion, in many respects worthy to rank beside that revealed in the Vedas. And geological facts show that human race has inhabited the Nile Valley for a number of centuries for surpassing all ordinary chronology and abundantly sufficient to account for the growth of art and architecture, religion and other evidences of civilisation, which culminated at least two or three thousand year B.C.

The religion which grew with this civilisation was in one sense still more polytheistic then early Vedic and it was more thoroughly local and tribal.

Each locality, each town and village worshipped local deities. But there are extant text which indicate that at some early date, the priests recognised that there was but one God, and the various forms of deity that were worshipped were but the manifestations of different aspects of the same Being, which they identified with Universe.

We have abundant evidence that the earlier period of Egyptian religion were purer and that its best features were older than the absurdities and inconsistencies, which formed no large a part of later worship.

This is but like the contrast between ancient Vedism and much of modern Hinduism.

But it cannot be proved that anything like pure monotheism existed primarily, which only developed later into polytheism. It is evident that belief in the god and in many

gods was held by the same men without the thought of inconsistency. Thus we find many expressions in which the Almighty power is referred to as one and supreme.

It is evident that Egyptian religion, like the Vedic one, was at bottom a nature religion. Their mythology concentrated itself mainly upon daily recurring phenomenon, especially of sun-rise and sunset and had a large number of different stories about these events, often mutually inconsistent.

Perhaps the oldest form under which the sun was worshipped was Ra, that being the common word for sun. The sky was imagined as a watery expanse, across which the sun-god travelled in a boat.

Like the Aryan gods, he had to fight with the demon of darkness Apap, a serpent, who is pierced by the weapons of the god. He has many names among which may be mentioned Barmachis as rising sun, and Tun as setting sun.

He is generally represented as hawk-headed man, with the solar disc on his head.

The sun's disc was termed as his emblem, but he was said to journey it across the sky. The following quotation from the "Book of the Dead", will give an idea of the prayer addressed to him:

(Hail, Thou, who art come as Tun and who has been the creator of the gods: Hail thou, who art come as soul of the holy souls in Anienti. Hail supreme among the gods, who know thy beauties doth illume the kingdom of the Dead. Hail Thou, who comest in radiance and travel1est in thy disc. Hail greatest of all gods, bearing rule in the highest reigning in the Nethermost Heaven. Hail re-

nowned and glorified god: the enemies fall upon their scaffold: Hail thou hast slain the guilty, thou hast destroyed Apap...)

Animal worship became more marked in Egyptian religion than in the Indian and there were fables representing that the spirit of the principal animals were supposed to be embodies in the Kinas.

In later times, every important place had its sacred animal and it was a great part of local religion to tend it and to embalm and bury it with honour when dead: and their mummies have been found in many places.

The dog-headed ape (cyno cephalons) at Thebes, the jackal at Kyno-polis, mice and sparrow-hawk at Butas, the Ibes at Hermo-polis, Memphis and Thebes, the cat, the ram, the vulture, the ichneumon, the Hippopotamus, the crocodile at other places, were waited on with utmost care.

Herodotus relates that the crocodile at Kroko Dilo Polis on lake Moeris had golden ear-rings, and rings on its fore-feet. It was fed with meat and meal, and embalmed after death."

Thus the early Vedic religion was a religion of nature-worship like the Egyptian religion, and developed into polytheism so that belief in one god and in many gods representing the manifestations of the powers of nature was held by its votaries, without the thought of any paradoxicality. It is only when the Aryans established themselves in the plains of India and became one dominant race and as successful invaders wanted to consolidate their hold upon the northern plains of India, the need for Aryan village organisation arose. The early Aryan religion became a weapon of political development, for imposing Aryan civilisation upon the whole of India. The first Aryan invaders of India were pastoral and agricultural tribes who wanted to exploit the fertile land of India. They were not sea-faring tribes hence were bereft of trade and commerce. They had entered India through the north-western Himalayan mountain routes but any commercial intercourse through land routes with other countries of the world was difficult for them. So Vedic religion in India became claustrophobic. On the contrary, the Dravidian culture was a result of mercantile civilization. So Dravidian culture was always regarded as a source of threat to the Aryans in India. To mop up the Dravidian culture and influence from the plains of Northern India, the latter Vedic religion was developed and became exploitative in its chief characteristics. The Aryans were not highly cultured people. They were ignoramuses in the arts of commerce. Agriculture was their chief livelihood. They were ignoramuses in the arts of architecture and built no temples, hence except Vedic literature they have left scanty evidence for archeologists to piece together their early history in India. The Dravidians were absorbed into the Aryan fold as low caste Hindus, and search for truth and quest for knowledge was totally denied to them. Gandhi's statement that God is "Search for truth" and purpose of life is "quest for knowledge" is to be comprehended not as a generalisation but in its historical perspective. We must not forget that Gandhi himself was a political implement forged by High-caste Hindus to perpetuate their political hegemony by preaching non-violence so that the low caste Hindu could be kept away from an armed struggle against the imperialist England, as there was the lurking danger that any armed struggle by the low caste would get transformed into an armed struggle against the exploitative upper-class Hindus. Hence Gandhi through-

out his life preached passive resistance to injustice. Now passive resistance to injustice only prolongs injustice. Knowing fully well that passive resistance to injustice is going to prolong injustice, Gandhi developed a bizarre philosophy of life by propagating a theory of non-violence that has an awesome theatricality about it. Some of the acolytes of Gandhi have in this respect drawn a parallel between him and Jesus Christ. However, the non-violence preached by Jesus Christ is essentially different in essence from the one preached by Gandhi. It would be no exaggeration to comment that Jesus is a pure fountain of mercy gushing out the adamantine rock of Justice. Mercy tempered with justice is the essence Christian teaching. Jesus does not abandon human accountability. According to Sydney Ahlstrom of Yale University:

> *"A country that does not want to live in chaos, has to establish a tradition of law, while Bible extols mercy, it also demands justice, and honours those who seek it."*

The teachings of Jesus Christ are built upon the solid rock of equity. Sermon on the Mount proclaims "hunger and thirst for righteousness". Turn the other cheek to the wrongdoer is the most misunderstood precept of Jesus. Pardon to the wrongdoer can only be after public confession, and never as a matter of right to escape the consequences of one's action. So in this view of the matter, forgiveness becomes a part of the punishment. By undergoing the punishment of contrition, the wrongdoer re-establishes his relationship with God. Jesus emphasized contrition as punishment and not sans punishment. On the contrary, a deep study of Gandhian thought would make it obvious that in Gandhian non-violence, Gandhi follows the moral geometry of the ancient Hindu religious lore

that was forged to suppress Dravidians. Hence Gandi's theology of forgiveness is discrete from that of Jesus. No parallel can be drawn between the two. An indepth study of the teachings of Jesus leads us to the irrefutable conclusion that Jesus was painfully aware about the miseries prevalent in this troubled world. His teachings are based upon a realistic appreciation of human nature; therefore, his concept of non-violence is neither a surrealistic caprice nor irresistible faddist effluvia. Jesus knew that the world abounds with men with ingrained aptitude for sin. He opens a road to salvation for them by preaching the virtues of contrition as punishment and accountability. His teachings emphasize accountability and steely protection of responsibility for men. So righteousness by men is the kernel of Christian teaching. No wrongdoer deserves unlimited mercy. Every man on this earth is considered to be noble with a high ego endowed by God and stray into sin due to satanic temptations. According to Christian teachings, no man in this world should consider himself a zero. All men are equal as children of God. A man can realise his full potential if he has a high image of himself. So Jesus goes to the extent of calling all men as children of God. Being children of god, men achieve ego of the highest order. This ego helps men to actualise faculties in full measure. Without ego, life can have no allegiance. In fact life can have no commitment. Indeed life would become utterly meaningless. The most essential attribute of human ego is self-awareness. This motivates man to actualise his faculties and potentials. This leads to maximum utilisation of one's abilities. Hence ego in its attributes is solid self-appraisal. Gandhi on the other hand, preaches renunciation of ego to achieve the Ahimsa. Hence Gandhi's doctrine of humility has an ambience of masochism. Victim invites suffering so that the victimiser

realises his folly. To invite suffering, the victim has to reduce his ego to a big zero. Says Gandhi in his biography:

> *"But I have still before me a different path to traverse. I must reduce myself to a zero. So long as man does not of his own free will put himself last among his fellow creatures, there is no salvation for him. Ahimsa is the farthest limit of humility."*

Jesus never preached that man should reduce himself to zero and put himself last among his fellow creatures to attain salvation. On the contrary, on undergoing contrition which is punishment, man obtains equality with fellow men by showing humility towards God. Gandhi's conception of Ahimsa as farthest limit of humility is utterly surreslistic and is not congruent with human situation. This provocative slogan is devoid of any substantiality. There is no need for a man to reduce himslelf to a zero to achieve the blessings of Ahimsa. If during the ordeal of human evolution, the naked ape had paid heed to this Gandhian percept, the consequences would have been disastrous. Naked ape would not have evolved into man and would still be a primate roaming derelict nocturnal world of some remote forest. The entire history of human evolution testifies that by resorting to ego or self-awareness the naked ape motivated himself to garguantum effort, to elevate his faculties to siderialised heights. The battle for survival during evolution was won by the naked ape not by resorting to submissive postures to over throw the domination of dominant animals but by throwing himself into fierce competition with the merciless and the feral animal world. The history of human evolution shows that naked ape pepped up his mental abilities and met the biggest dangers head on and confident of the superiority of his imagination transmuted himself from the position of subservience to the position of dominance. Superiority to other animals was the keynote factor of his survival in this world. So superiority of self is our historical heritage. Reducing oneself to zero and appeal to humility as the farthest limit of Ahimsa is historically speaking a negative approach to life and a reversal of the historical process. The million dollar question still remains unanswered. Why did the shrewd statesman, darling of the masses, saint of India, the consummate politician, Gandhi, empahasise the counsel of reducing oneself to Zero? What does the expression reducing oneself to Zero connote? Reducing oneself to zero is to indulge in self-emasculation of personality. From purely psychological point of view, this self battering of ego ought to be an excruciating exercise. In a normal self this feeling of self mutilation can only be a source of horrible pain and not joy. This Gandhian precept of humility to the farthest limit is not even congruent with the basic philosophy of Gita. On the contrary if we take a hard look at Gita, we find that the sacred book extols to the farthest limits the self-worship. The emphasis of sacred message is on self-centredness. The object is to gain manumission from human suffering. Chapter III Karma-Yoga, 17th Verse (translation by Dr Radhakrishnan) observes:

> *"But the man whose delight is self alone who is content with the self, who is satisfied with the self, for him there exists no work that needs to be done."*

According to learned commentator Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, "He is freed from a sense of duty. He works not out of a sense of duty or for the progressive transformation of is being but because his perfected na-

ture issues spontaneously in action."

These words connote that the holy Gita asserts in unmistakable terms the message that delight in self that leads to contentment is the true measure of a perfected nature. Delight in self is not attainable without an exquisite self-image. This ethical egoism is preached by Bible also when it says that all men are children of god. Islam also gives the same message by declaring that "Man is the deputy of God upon earth and is the noblest of all creation". Ego in Islam is self awareness. But Gandhi preaches the bizarre message of joyousness in self-emasculation of personality. This has a tinge of masochism about it. We should not forget that masochism is a conception that has many nuances and shades. However, the following short paragraphs from the reviewer of the biography of Leopold Von Sacher-Masoch (The first Masochist by James Cleugh published by Stein and Day) throws some light upon its basic contours and reads as under:-

> *"His short stories and most of his ninety novels all dealt with depravity. The theme of his novels like "Girl beats boy', "Venus in Furs" his most widely read book, was typical of the rest, though hardly as explicit as some of today's sex-fare: Wanda Von Dundayev, an imperious amazon, swaggers through a series of near pornographic episodes, whip in hand, abject lover at her feet.*

In real life Sacher Masoch lived out the imaginings of his book. The model for Wanda was one Fanny Pistor Bog Danoff, a strapping lady with whom he spent six tawdry months in Venice. With his first wife, as aspiring writer, named Aurora Rumelin, whom he preferred to call Wanda, he worked out a bizarre set of domestic arrangements. After they married, his job around the house would

be to wait on her, hand and foot. His royalty checks were earmarked for furs and fine whips. For her part Wanda was expected to chastise him regularly and in him. To that effect they signed a treaty" (Review published in time, July 14th 1967.

Gandhi's precept of reducing oneself to zero and Ahisma as self acquired humility of suffering willingly victimisation so that the victimiser realises his wrongdoing may have some altruistic hue but is motivated by a strong desire to suffer intensely so that the victimiser realises that the victim is joyous at his misery. Thus victim invites suffering willingly to frustrate the victimiser. This is the essence of Masochism. In this backdrop if we examine the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence we find that throughout his life Gandhi preached attainments of lofty goals in life through voluntary suffering. Gandhi evolved this philosophy not out of any conviction but because he had blatant masochistic traits. We will at this stage have to take a peep through the threadbare veil of his auto biography. It is regrettable that no in-depth psycho-analytical study of the character of Gandhi has been made by the Indian scholars. The only scanty material available in this behalf in his own autobiography translated from Gujrati by Mahadev Desai in 1927. The under-mentioned excerpts from his biography invite attention:

Excerpt No. 1

> *"The outstanding impression my mother has left on my memory is that of saintliness. She was deeply religious. She would not think of taking her meals without her daily prayers. Going to Haveli-the Vaishnu temple, was one of her daily duties. As far as my memory can go back, I do not*

remember her having ever missed the "Chaturmass". She would take the hardest vows and keep them without flinching. Illness was no excuse for relaxing them. I can recall her once falling ill when she was observing the "Chandrayana vow" but the illness was not allowed to interrupt the observance. To keep two or three fasts was nothing to her. Not content with that, she fasted every alternate day during one "Chaturmas". During another "Chaturmas" she vowed not to have any food without seeing the sun. We children on those days would stand staring at the sky, waiting to announce the appearance of the sun to our mother. Everyone knows that at the height of rainy season, the sun often does not condescend to show his face. And I remember days when we would rush and announce it to her. She would run out to see with her own eyes, but by that time the fugitive sun would be gone; thus depriving her of her meals. That does not matter she would say cheerfully "God did not want me to eat today". And then she would return to her round of duties. My mother had strong common-sense. She was well informed about all matters of State, and ladies of the court thought highly of her intelligence. Often I would accompany her exercising the privilege of childhood and I still remember many lively discussions she had with the widowed mother of Thokur Sahib".

Comment

This excerpt from his biography shows Gandhi came from a house-hold that had strong religious backdrop. The paragon of excellence was saintliness. The outstanding

impression upon his mind about his mother is of saintliness. In later life he would try to emulate his mother and acquire an aura of saintliness. The measure of saintliness is strong observance of fasts. In later years Gandhi would also observe fasts rigorously. Two illations are feasible in this behalf. First that Gandhi is mother dominated. She is a devout and strong character. She is the lady with the iron will. She has sculpted the image of inflexible woman upon the mind of Gandhi. Second illation is that Gandhi regards her as paragon of saintliness. For Gandhi she is the acme of perfection, the object to be achieved. Thus perfection has a feminine face for Gandhi. The dilemma for Gandhi is that he is born a male but the object of perfection for him is a female. So he has to rid himself of his maleness and achieve some sort of femininity that would enable him to reach saintliness. His father on the contrary has nothing to do with saintliness. So he is no model for him. On the contrary he is art object of loathing. In orthodox Hindu thought, saintliness is the highest goal a human being can achieve. His father falls short of that wonderful ideal. His loathing for his father is intense and irreconcilable. The psychological implications of this bizarre feeling find strong expression in the manner he comports himself when informed by his Velet that his father is at the brink of death. His mirth at this news is the chief characteristic of his behaviour that is also expressed by him. See the following excerpt:

Excerpt No. 2

"The time of which I am now speaking is my sixteenth year. My father as we have seen, was bedridden, suffering from fistula. My mother, an old servant of the house, and I were his principal attendants. I had the duties of a nurse which merely consisted in dressing the wounds, giving my fa-

ther his medicine, and compounding drugs, whenever they had to be made up at home. Every night I massaged his legs and retired only when he asked me to do so or after he had fallen asleep. I loved to do this service. I do not remember having ever neglected it. All the time at my disposal, after the performance of my daily duties, was divided between school and attending on my father, I would only go out for an evening walk either when he permitted me or when he was feeling well.

This was also the time when my wife was expecting a baby, a circumstance which, as I can see today, meant a double shame for me. For one thing I did not restrain myself, as I should have done, whilst I was just a student. And secondly this carnal desire just got the better of what I regarded as my duty to study, and of what was even a greater duty, my devotion to my parents. Sharavana having been my ideal since childhood, every night whilst my hands were busy massaging my father's legs my mind was hovering about the bed room-and that too at a time when religion, medical science and common sense alike forbade sexual intercourse. I was always glad to be relieved from my duty and went straight to the bedroom after doing obeisance to my father.

At the same time my father was getting worse every day. Ayurvedic physicians had tried all their ointments. Having their plasters and local quacks their nostrums. An English surgeon had also used his skill. As the last and only resort he had recommended a surgical operation. But the family physician came in the way. He disapproved of an operation being performed at such an advanced age. The physician was competent and well known, and his

advice prevailed.

The operation was abandoned and the various medicines purchased for the purpose were of no account. I have an impression that if the physician had allowed the operation the wound would have been easily healed.

The operation also was to have been performed by a surgeon who was then well known in Bombay. But God had willed otherwise.

"When death is imminent, who can think of remedy? My father returned from Bombay with all paraphernalia of the operation, which were now useless. He despaired of living any longer. He was getting weaker and weaker, until at last he had to be asked to perform the necessary functions in bed. But up to the last he refused to do anything of the kind, always insisting on going through the strain of leaving his bed. The Vaishnavite rules about external cleanliness are so inexorable.

Such cleanliness is quite essential no doubt but western medical science has taught us that all the functions including a bath, can be done in bed, with the strictest regard to cleanliness and without the slightest discomfort to the patient, the bed always remaining spotlessly clean. I should regard such cleanliness as quite consistent with Vaishnuvaism. But my father's insistence on leaving the bed only struck me with wonder then, and I had nothing but admiration for it.

The dreadful night came. My uncle was then in Rajkot. I have a faint recollection that he came to Rajkot having bad news that my father was getting worse. The brothers were deeply attached to each other. My uncle would sit near my father's bed the whole day and would insist on sleeping by his bedside, after sending us all to sleep. No

one had dreamt that this was to be the fateful night. The danger of course was there. It was ten-thirty or eleven P.M. I was giving the massager. My uncle offered to relieve me. I was glad and went straight to the bed room.

My wife, poor thing, was fast asleep. But how could she sleep when I was there? I woke her up. In five or six minutes, however, the servant knocked at the door. I started with alarm. "Get Up" he said. 'Father is very ill'. I knew of course that he was very ill, so I guessed what 'very ill" meant at that moment. So all was over. I had but to wring my hands. I felt deeply ashamed and miserable. I ran to my father's room. I saw that if animal passion had not blinded me, I should have been spared the torture of separation from my father during his last moments.

I shall have been massaging him, and he would have died in my arms. But now it was my uncle who had this privilege. He was so deeply devoted to his elder brother that he had earned the honour of doing him last services:

My father had forebodings of the coming event. He had made a sign for pen and paper and written:

"Prepare for the last rites". He had then shaped the amulet off his arm and also his gold necklace of tulsibeads and flung them aside. A moment after this he was no more.

The shame, to which I have referred in a foregoing chapter, was this shame of my carnal desire even at the critical hour of my father's death, which demanded wakeful service. It was a blot. 1 have never been able to efface or forget and I have always thought that although my devotion to my parents knew no bounds and I would have given up anything of it, yet it was weighted and found unpardonably wanting because my mind was at the same moment in the grip of lust.

"I have therefore always regarded myself as a lustful, though a faithful husband. It took me long to get free from the shackles of lust, and 1 had to pass through many ordeals before I could overcome it.

"Before 1 close this chapter of my double shame. I may mention that the mite that was born to my wife scarcely breathed for more than three or four days. Nothing else could be expected. Let all those who are married be warned by my example.")

Comment

If one endeavours to peer through the thin veil of these innocuous words one can find the intricacies and complexities of the character of M.K. Gandhi convoluted into a tough tangle needing great effort to unravel it. The following illative conclusions may be drawn. Firstly that Gandhi felt glad when relieved of his duty to nurse his father. He chose the most critical moment of his father's illness when his death was imminent, for sexual dalliance with his pregnant wife. His father represents paternal authority grounded upon masculine prowess. Sexual desire in man also symbolises masculine prowess. So to get rid of his masculinity he creates a situation where guilt attaches to his lustful nature. The culprit in such a situation would be his masculinity. His obvious unquenchable obsessive intense desire to get rid of his masculinity compels him to indulge in sexual dalliance at the critical time, when his father is at the brink of death. The death of his father is the death of paternal authority. The last impediment in his way to shed his masculinity has been brushed aside by fate. Now he blames his masculinity for his double shame. He has a guilt-ridden conscience and does not hesitate to indulge in uncharitable diction while describing the child born to his wife that scarcely breathed for

more than three or four days. The death of Gandhi's father is not traumatic for him. On the contrary the intense hate for his own masculinity is the centre of his experience. The feelings of destructiveness are aroused by him although camouflaged by his double shame, they in course of time would enable him to get rid of his masculine proweess. Gandhi's feeling of double shame is in reality an obvious feeling of rage directed towards his male personality. His maleness is his enemy. He is at war with himself. His maleness which he has inherited from his father is the impediment in his way to achieve saintliness. He is a person who is torn asunder by his conflicting emotions and has become a person who is motivated with a desire to hurt and humiliate his own self. This self-hate is the chief characteristic of his behaviour. His sexual behaviour cannot be explained on any other hypothesis. According to late Dr. Erich Fromm:

> *"In fact in no sphere of behaviour does the character of a person show more clearly than in sexual act precisely because it is the least earned and patterned behavior. A person's love, his tenderness, his sadism or masochism, his greed, his narcissism, his anxieties indeed his every character trait is expressed in his sexual behavior."*

Looked at from this angle we find that Gandhi's insatiable thirst to achieve saintliness personified by his mother is ultimately quenched by him at a later stage in his life when he abjures sex and attains the status of a Bramchari. The following excerpt from his biography calls for special attention:-

Excerpt No. 3

We now reach the stage in this story when I began seriously to think of taking the Brahmacharya vow. I had

been wedded to a monogamous ideal ever since my marriage, faithfulness to my wife being part of the love of truth. But it was in South Africa that I came to realize the importance of observing Brahmcharya even with respect to my wife. I cannot definitely say what circumstances or what book it was that set my thoughts in that direction, but I have a recollection that the predominant factor was the influence of Raychand Bhai, of whom I have already written. I can still recall a conversation that I had with him.

On one occasion I spoke to him in high praise of Mrs. Gladstone's devotion to her husband. I had read somewhere that Mrs. Gladstone insisted on preparing tea for Mr. Gladstone even in the House of Commons, and that this had become a rule in the life of this illustrious couple, whose actions were governed by regularity.

I spoke of this to the poet, and incidentally eulogized conjugal love, which of the two do you praise more' asked Raychandbahi, 'the love of Mrs. Gladstone for her husband as his wife, or he devoted service irrespective of her relation to Mr. Gladstone? Supposing she had been his sister or his devoted servant, and ministered to him the same attention, what would you have said? Do we not have instances of such devoted sisters or servants? Supposing you had found the same loving devotion in a male servant, would you have been pleased in the same way as in Mrs. Gladstone's case? Just examine the viewpoint suggested by me:

Raychandbhai was himself married. I have an impression that at this moment his words harsh but they gripped me irresistibly. The devotion of a servant was, I felt a thousand times, more praiseworthy than that of a wife to her husband. There was nothing surprising in the wife's de-

votion to her husband as there was an indissoluble bond between them. The devotion was perfectly natural. But it required a special effort to cultivate equal devotion between master and servant. The poet's point of view began gradually to grow upon me. What then, I asked myself, should be my relation with my wife? Did my faithfulness consist in making my wife the instrument of my lust? So long as I was the slave of lust, my faithfulness was worth nothing. To be fair to my wife, I must say that she was never the temptress. It was therefore, the easiest thing for me to take the vow of brahmacharya if only I willed it. It was my weak will or lustful attachment that was the obstacle."

Comment

The astute reader would easily discern through the ponderous disguise of these words, the endeavor of M.K. Gandhi to indulge in wild sophistry in order to construct a rationalisation for escaping from the matrimonial hold which according to orthodox Hindu religious thought was indissoluble, being a union of flesh with flesh and bone with bone. Gandhi uses ratiocination in order to lend succour to his justification for converting his matrimonial alliance with his spouse into an incestuous relationship of siblings. Gandhi's self-hatred for his maleness finds further expression in the following excerpts culled out from his biography.

Excerpt No.4

"After full discussion and mature deliberation, I took the vow in 1906. I had not shared my thoughts with my wife until then, but only consulted her at the time of taking the vow. She had no objection. But I had great difficulty in making the final resolve. I had not the necessary strength. How was I to control my passions? The elimination of carnal relationship with one's wife seemed then a strange thing. But I launched forth with faith in the sustaining power of God. As I look back on twenty years of the vow I am filled with pleasure and wonderment. The more or less successful practice of self-control had been going on since 1901. But the freedom and joy that came to me after taking the vow had never been experienced before 1908.

Before the vow I had been open to being overcome by temptation at any moment. Now the vow was a sure shield against temptation. The great potentiality of Brahmcharya, daily became more and more patent to me. The vow was taken when I was in Phoenix. As soon as I was free from Ambulance work, I went to phoenix, whence I had to return to Johannesburg.

In about a month of my returning there, the foundation of Satyagraha was laid. As though unknown to me, the Brahmacharya vow had been preparing me for it, Satyagraha had not been a preconceived plan. It came on spontaneously, without my having willed it. But I could see all my previous steps had led up to that goal.

I had cut down my heavy household expenses at Johannesburg and gone to Phoenix to take, as it were, the Brahmacharya vow.

The knowledge that a perfect observance of Brahamacharya means realisation of Brahman, I did not owe to the study of Shastras. It slowly grew upon me with experience. The Shastric texts on the subject I read only later in life. Every day of the vow has taken me nearer to the knowledge that in Brahamacharya lies the protection of the body, the mind and the soul. For Brahamcharya was now no process of hard penance, it was a matter of consolation and joy. Every day revealed a fresh beauty in

it.

But if it was a matter of ever-increasing joy, let no one believe that it was an easy thing for me. Even when I am past fifty six years, I realize how a hard thing it is. Every day I realise more and more that it is like walking on a sword's edge, and I see every moment the necessity for eternal vigilance.

Comment

This striking passage from the auto-biography of M.K. Gandhi reveals an exceptionally important fact that his doctrine of Satyagraha was not a well researched, premeditated, well-considered act based on any firm conviction. Gandhi did not formulate it after sufficient forethought. The concept of Gandhi's satyagrah can only be comprehended if we make a thorough psychoanalytical approach to the character structure of Gandhi. The aforementioned passage from his autobiography provides enough flood-light to help us read definite meanings into his saintly conduct. We find that at long last Gandhi succeeded in his overweaning ambition to shrug off all the vestiges of masculinity from his personality. He attained in full measure self-castration. With a stupendous endeavour, he willingly realised the goal of emotional impotence. Now onwards he would experience the ever increasing joy of being a uni-sex. Gandhi, we find, underwent the masochistic ordeal of emotional emasculation. Now he became an object, a saint to be revered. He pontificates that to achieve self-purification where one has to become absolutely passion free. This doctrine is going to push his votaries to the brink of dehumanisation and transform them into objects to be manipulated by this tutelary god of Indian politics. In order to comprehend the psyche of Gandhi, we have to keep in view the obvious fact that he

regarded his masculinity as a ponderous burden upon his personality. He detested his maleness as something tainted and counselled to achieve purification so that passion should be inhibited. He regarded sexual libido as something filthy and shameful. He considered it the cause of his double shame. Gandhi's uni-sex status was meant to allow him to enact the role of mother to the nation. It is a cruel irony that people ultimately crowned him as father of the nation. Gandhi was goaded by a strong sado-masochistic desire to achieve the attainable goal of a Brahmacharya. He can only be understood if we refuse to deify him. In this view of the matter we can safely conclude that he is not a pure masochist. He is essentially a sado- masochist character. He has the most complex personality. Apparently he is conditioned to behave in a saintly manner. His saintliness has a definite objective, namely, to control his votaries. His theory of nonviolence is meant to prove conducive to this objective. We find that he is mentally submissive to his overriding desire to offer penance or suffering for the sake of suffering. To this extent he is strongly motivated by masochistic tendencies. He in such gloomy moods is found to undertake fasts unto death in order to pander to his death wish. This is the typical approach of a person suffering from intense masochism. Such a person is gripped by destructive tendencies and wants to over throw the existing order. Gandhi also wanted destruction of the then political structure that was related to British might. In psychological terms Great Britain for him represented male virility. The subjugated Indian society was a symbol of helplessness, hence utterly feminine. So Satyagraha was to be an instrument for femininisation of Indian politics. In characterological sense this utterly suited Gandhi. He did not want to overthrow the existing order by any violent struggle but

wanted to undermine the British might by non-violent boycott. Gandhi's theory of nonviolence is not grounded upon ethical reasons. On the contrary he wants to use his non-violence as a weapon of violence with cutting edge. The object of any violent struggle in India would be to overthrow the British Raj. The object of Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence is also the same. From this premise we come to the conclusion that although he preached non-violence as a weapon of political change he was basically motivated by thoughts of destructiveness of the existing order. We will have to probe the character of M.K. Gandhi further to find out answer to the further query why did Gandhi camouaflage his real intendment? Gandhi never believed in the theory of non-violent struggle with any deep conviction. There are several reasons to support this inference. Firstly, Gandhi was an Indian with western education. He was aware about world history. He was also aware about rapid strides made by science during that era. He knew that the origins of universe itself according to scientific thought was a result of tumultuous action. He knew that scientifically speaking creation and destruction are concomitant. He knew that nature was not averse to the existence of violent and intense forces operating simultaneously. He knew that universe is still expanding. He knew that stars are still dying and some violent force in nature keeps this process alive. He knew that even an atom is but the sun total of constituents in violent motion. Some swift and intense force keeps the energy in motion. Big Bang theory was already very popular. He knew the entire universe was a collection of opposing and uniform forces. He knew that even Hindu scriptures accepted this view of the origin of universe. Bhagavata Purana (as quoted by Velikovsky in his book "Planets in collisions") says:

> *"(The sacred Hindu book Bhagavata Purana tells of four ages and of 'PHALAYAS' or cataclysms in which in various epochs, mankind was nearly destroyed: the fifth age is that of the present. The world ages are called Kalpas or Yugs. Each world age met its destruction in catastrophes of conflagrations, flood and hurricane, Ezour Vedam and Bhaga-Vedam, sacred Hindu books, keeping to the scheme of four expired ages, differ only in number of years, ascribed to each. In the chapter "world cycles" in Yisuddhi-Magga, it is said that there are three destructions: destruction by water, the destruction by fire: and destruction by wind, but there are seven ages, each of which is separated from the previous one by a world catastrophe.")*

Gandhi was conscious that nature rejects nonviolence as nature itself is nothing but a jumble of intense forces, competing and balancing each other. Even the ordinary birth of child is a violent act. Foetus is forcibly thrown out from the comfort of the womb; hence, the first reaction of the new born is not a gracious smile but an agonizing shriek piercing in its intensity. And historically speaking one may point out that the entire history of human civilisation and culture grew out of the pressures on the primitive man to improve his prey-killing prowess. This improvement of prey killing prowess became the foundation upon which the state, the government, the other social institutions were laid. Non-violence has never been a part of human heritage. Even within the tabernacle called human body, the white cells are perpetually battling killer microbes. Gandhi was aware of all this. This is quite evident from the following excerpt occurring in

his biography.

Excerpt No.5

"It was quite clear to me that participation in war could never be consistent with Ahimsa. But it is not always given to one to be equalled clear about one's duty. A votary of truth is often obliged to grope in the dark.

Ahimsa is a comprehensive principle. We are helpless mortals caught in the conflagration of HIMSA. The very fact of living, eating, drinking and moving about necessarily involves some himsa, destruction of life, be it ever so minute. A votary of Ahimsa therefore, remain true to his faith if the spring of all his actions is compassion, if he shuns to exercise his ability of destruction and incessantly strives to be free from deadly coil of 'himsa'. He will be constantly growing in self-restraint and compassion, but he can never become entirely free from outward 'himsa'.

Underlying ahimsa is the unity of all life, the error of one cannot but affect all and hence man cannot be wholly free from himsa. So long as he continues to be a social being, he cannot but participate in the himsa, that the very existence of society involves. When two nations are fighting, the duty of a votary of Ahimsa is to stop the war. He who is not equal to that duty, he who has no power of resisting war, he who is not qualified to resist war, may take part in war, and yet wholeheartedly try to free himself, his nation and the world from war.

I had hoped to improve my status and that of my people through the British Empire, whilst in England I was enjoying the protection of the British fleet and taking shelter as I did under its armed might. I was directly participating in its potential violence. Therefore, If I desired to

retain my connection with the Empire and to live under its banner, one of the three courses was open to me : I could declare open resistance to war, and in accordance with the law of satyagraha, boycott he Empire until it changed its military policy: or I could seek imprisonment by civil disobedience of such of its laws as were it to be disobeyed: or I could participate in the war on the side of the Empire and thereby acquire the capacity and fitness for resisting the violence of war, I lacked this capacity and fitness, so I thought there was nothing for it but to serve in the war."

Comment

"This poignant passage from the biography of Gandhi makes it crystal clear that he was aware about the impracticability of his theory of Ahimsa. His expression "I could participate in the war on the side of the Empire, and thereby acquire the capacity and fitness for resisting the violence of war" is pregnant with great signification. It is a clarion call that violence can only be resisted with violence. This explains his entire theory of Ahimsa. Gandhi is sure that non-violence is a provocative slogan devoid of any substantiality. But he is also conscious of the fact the non-violence can be used by way of defensive aggression that will save it from reducing itself to the level of an inane charade, or a chimerical stultifying emotion. So efficient exercise of non-violence as a means of violence is going to make it congruent with human reality. His Brahmacharya drives have contributed a lot in shaping his thinking. Non-violence as defensive or passive aggression becomes for him a challenging exciting and fascinating part of human drama. He brands non-violence as a weapon of social revolution. Revolution implies forceful change. Change implies major accomplishment. Change

implies creating a self renewing society. But Gandhi's non-violence is passive aggression. He is not interested in immediate change. Thus we find that Gandhi is guilty of terminological inexactitude in his speech and writings. He does not mean what he says. His theory of Ahimsa is not meant to involve the Indian masses in the true task of a great social involvement intended to reconstruct society as a self-renewing unit. Hence the Indian society of that particular period did not emerge as a society capable of immediate change-a society capable of renewal, a society responsive to current events. Any society in the world caught in the maelstrom of events requires essential spectacular redesigning. If this is avoided then it is bound to decay. Events it may be pointed out are like killer microbes which if not consciously combated can make any society sick. In such a sick society the onrush of events overtakes the masses and as the society is sick, it lacks the faculty to renew itself. In the process it soon gets antiquated. So British Empire looked with glee upon the theory of passive aggression professed by Gandhi. They knew its disastrous consequences for the Indian society. The net result of his theory of Ahimsa would be perpetuation of the British Raj and power would not be transferred to the Indian masses. Instead, the British would concede Home Rule to the elitist propertied segment of the Hindu society. The Govt. of India Act of 1919 and the Govt. of India Act of 1935 were formulated by the British keeping in view this political objective. As a matter of political policy, the British eulogised Gandhi to siderialised heights. Gandhi was transformed into an uncrowned king of India. But at this distance of time we will have to re-evaluate the mission of this saint of India. We will have to probe the question, why Gandhi behaved this way? In retrospect we will have to examine his early life, childhood, adolescence, youth

and other events of his life that may have shaped his character. Before we enter into any detailed discussion of his character structure, we may take a passing glance on the following excerpts culled out from his very interesting biography.

Excerpt No.6

"I must have been about seven when my father left Porbander for Rajkot to become a member of the Rajasthani Court. There I was put into a Primary School and I can well recollect those days, including the names and other particulars of the teachers, who taught me. As at Porbander, so here, there is hardly anything to note about my studies. I could have been only a mediocre student. From this school I went to Suburban school and thence to the High school, having already reached my twelfth year. I do not remember having ever told a lie, during this short period, either to my teacher or to my schoolmates. I used to be very shy and avoid all company. My books and lessons were my sole companions. To be at school at the stroke of the hour and to run back home as soon as school closed was my daily habit. I literally ran back because I could not bear to talk to anybody. I was even afraid lest anyone should poke fun at me."

Excerpt No.7

"Dorabji Edulji Gimi was the headmaster. He was popular among the boys, as he was a disciplinarian, a man of method, and a good teacher. He had made gymnastics and cricket compulsory for boys of upper standards. I disliked both. I never took part in any exercise, cricket or football be-

fore they were made compulsory. My shyness was one of the reasons for this aloofness, which I now see is wrong".

Excerpt No.8

"Moreover I was a coward. I used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts and serpents. I did not dare to stir out of doors at night. Darkness was a terror to me. It was almost impossible for me to sleep in the dark as I would imagine ghosts coming from one direction, thieves from another and serpents from a third. I could not therefore bear to sleep without a light in the room. How could I disclose my fears to my wife, no child but already at threshold of youth, sleeping by my side. 1 knew she had more courage than I, and 1 felt ashamed of myself."

Excerpt No.9

"The same company would have led me into faithlessness to my wife. But I was saved by the skin of my teeth. My friend once took me to a brothel. He sent me in with necessary instructions. It was all prearranged. The bill had already been paid. I went into the jaws of sin, but God in his infinite mercy protected me against myself. I was almost struck blind and dumb in this den of vice. I sat near the woman on her bed, but 1 was tongue tied. She naturally lost patience with me and showed me the door, with abuses and insults. 1 then felt as though my manhood had been injured and wished to sink into the ground for shame."

Excerpt No.1 0

"There were in the committee others also who shared

my view, but I felt myself personally called upon to express my own. How to do it was the question. I had not the courage to speak and I therefore, decided to set down my thoughts in writing. I went to the meeting with the document in my pocket. So far as I recollect, I did not find myself equal even to reading it and the President had it read by some one else. Dr. Allinson lost the day. Thus in the very first battle of the kind I found myself siding with the losing party. But I had comfort in the thought that the cause was right. I have a faint recollection that, after this incident, I resigned from the committee. This shyness 1 retained throughout my stay in England. Even when I paid a social call the presence of half a dozen or more people would strike me dumb.

Excerpt No. 11

"1 did not hesitate to pass myself off as a bachelor though 1 was married and the father of a son. But 1 was none the happier for being a dissembler. Only my reserve and my reticence saved me from going into deep waters. If 1 did not talk, no girl would think it worthwhile to enter into conversation with me or to go out with me. My cowardice was on a par with my reserve. It was customary in families like the one in which 1 was staying at Ventnor for the daughter of the landlady to take out guests for a walk.

My landlady's daughter took us one day to the lovely Hills around Ventnor. I was no slow walker, but my companion walked even faster, dragging me after her and chattering away all the while. I responded to her chatter sometimes with a whispered 'yes' or 'no' or at the most 'yes, how beautiful'. She was flying like a bird whilst 1 was wondering when 1 should get back home. We thus

reached the top of the hill. How to get down again was the question. In spite of her high heeled boots this sprightly young lady of twenty five darted down the hill like an arrow. I was shame-facedly struggling to get down. She stood at the foot smiling and cheering me, and offering to come and drag me. How could I be so chicken hearted with the greatest difficulty and crawling at intervals I somehow managed to scramble to the bottom. She loudly laughed "Bravo" and shamed me all the more, as well she might".

Excerpt No. 12

"Besides, I had learnt nothing at all of Indian law. I had not the slightest idea of Hindu and Mahomedan law. I had not even learnt how to draft a plaint, and felt completely at sea. I had heard of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, as one who roared like a lion in the law courts. How, I wondered, could he have learnt the art in England? It was out of question for me to acquire his legal acumen, but I had serious misgivings as to whether I should be able even to earn a living by profession."

Excerpt No. 13

"This was my debut in small cause court. I appeared for the defendant and had to cross-examine the plaintiff's witnesses. I stood up, but my heart sank into my boots. My head was reeling and I felt as though the whole court was doing likewise. I could think of no question to ask. The judge must have laughed and the Vakils no doubt enjoyed the spectacle. But I was past seeing anything. I sat down and told the agent that I could

not conduct the case, that he had better engage Patel and have the fee back from me. Mr. Patel was duly engaged for Rs.51. To him of course the case was child's play. "I hastened from court, not knowing whether my client won or lost her case, but was ashamed of myself and decided not to take up any more cases until I had the courage enough to conduct them".

Excerpt No. 14

"I smarted under the insult, but as I had pocketed many such in the past I had become inured to them. I therefore, decided to forget this latest one and take what course a dispassionate view of the case might suggest we had a letter from the Chief of the Asiatic Department to the effect that, as I had seen Mr. Chamberlain in Durban, it had been found necessary to omit my name from the deputation which was to wait on him."

Excerpt No. 15

"I kept account of every farthing I spent, and my expenses were carefully calculated. Every little item, such as omnibus fares or postage or a couple of coppers spent on news papers, would be entered and the balance struck every evening before going to bed. That habit has stayed with me ever since, and I know as a result though I have had to handle public funds amounting to lakhs, I have succeeded in exercising strict economy in their disbursement, and, instead of outstanding debts have invariably a surplus balance in respect of all the movements I have led. Let every youth take a leaf out of my book, and make it a point to account for everything that comes into and goes

out of his pocket and like me he is sure to be a gainer in the end. As I kept strict watch over my way of living I could see that it was necessary to economise. I, therefore, decided to reduce my expenses by half. My accounts showed numerous items spent on fares. Again my living with a family meant the payment of regular weekly bill. It also included the courtesy of occasionally taking members of the family out to dinner and likewise attending parties with them. ... It seemed to me all these items could be saved, as likewise the drain on my purse caused through a false sense of propriety."

These excerpts from the autobiography of M. K. Gandhi have been concatenated by me to help the discerning reader to an interpretative study of the characterlogical aspects involved in understanding Gandhi. Admirers of Gandhi should endeavour to view the materials presented in this book thoroughly and dispassionately from a purely objective point of view, while analysing his complex character structure and not in the light of any preconceived ideas fixes. Gandhi is the most outstanding personality of the twentieth Century. He is a remarkable person and an outstanding politician. The approach of the reader should be purely objective and analytical. The psychological analysis and the interpretative study of these lengthy excerpts culled out from his own autobiography lead to the conclusion that M. K. Gandhi is not perfection incarnate. He is not a god of excellence. He does not embody the ideal best and cannot be placed on the high pedestal of an idol even by an idolatrous nation. He has his weak spots and that makes him human. It is his human aspect which endears him to us.

His study is to be made purely as a human being and not as a demi-god. He is not the epitome of any ideality; but a very remarkable character who left his imprints for us upon the sands of time. In the light of the excerpts from his autobiography hereto-fore quoted, let us strive to concretise the various inferences that throw light upon h is character. By way of abundant caution it may be reiterated that the reader will have to examine all the probable inferences that arise from the scanty materials provided by the autobiography of M. K. Gandhi ideationally. While engaged in this perilous exercise the reader may find himself in a dicy situation. Treating the subject with utmost caution we reach the following illations:

First :- That Gandhi had a very poor self-image. He regarded himself as a shame-faced coward who could pocket insults at random, and who was always ashamed of himself being cognizant of his ignobleness. His self-accusations which galore in his autobiography show he regarded himself as an inferior fellow who was lowly, obscure and contemptible. He thought his state of ignobility made him socially unacceptable. He regarded himself as a mediocre, unmanly failure. Even after he had become a married man, he was obsessed by the most ignominious fears. His lack of self confidence reaches such a lofty peak that he regards his wife as more brave and courageous than him. In fact his shyness was his shield. He was tormented by the unmanly quality of his conduct. He lacked self-aplomb and was never sure of himself. So far as legal profession was concerned he was a disgraceful failure. His sense of despondency was high. This explains why he thought that it was out of question for him to emulate the legal acumen of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. On the contrary he had serious misgiving about his abilities and he was not even confident that he should be able

even to earn a living by his profession. He was a youth utterly engulfed by feelings of inadequacy, ignominy, and utter helplessness. About the knowledge of law he confessed that he was no better than a ignoramus. Even after completing legal training in England in a prestigious Inn, he thought that so far his profession was concerned he had continued to remain a thoroughly un-learned fellow. By indulging in self-accusations Gandhi intentionally foisted upon his sub-conscious an ill-favoured self-image and by considering himself a very diminutive, mediocre, worthless and shy fellow he consciously limited his personality. This was a process of excruciating self-castration. It only heightened in him the feeling of comprehensive social impotence. The only way he could compensate for his feelings of social impotence was by gaining control over others. To gain control over his compatriots he had to assume the lofty mien of a selfless saint. In his autobiography he has again and again over-emphasised the fact that he was a votary of truth. This emphasis on truthfulness is meant to highlight his spiritual disposition of mind and to create an impression that he belonged to the class of spiritual illuminati. This passion is so trenchant in him that in an illimitable manner he confesses about the most intimate aspects of his personality providing us very valuable material for psycho-analytical study. Thus psycho analytically speaking Gandhi's truthfulness and saintliness is only a ploy to achieve an objective. It is not based upon any conviction, reason or critical examination. In fact Gandhi's emphasis on the fact that he always was truthful and never lied shows that he wants us to believe that spiritually speaking he was superior to others and possessed the soul of a saint. This reveals a very important trait of his character structure. We find that he is an ultra-narcissistic person. He is under a tremendous

psychological compulsion to achieve the pinnacles of fame and glory. If Gandhi had not achieved fame and glory then in that eventuality, his narcissism would have goaded him to lead the path of great mental depression. In all probability he would have spent the remainder of his life as an insane person. It is the opportunities and political circumstances that redeemed Gandhi from this horrible fate. Gandhi's fight for his values, goals and aims in verity is fight for his own sanity. To support this inference I cannot forego the temptation to quote Dr. Eric Fromm, who says:

> *"Extremely narcissistic persons are often almost forced to become famous, since otherwise they might become depressed and insane. But it takes much talent and appropriate opportunities to influence others to such a degree that their applause validates these narcissistic dreams. Even when such people succeed, they are driven to seek further success since for them failure carries the danger of collapse. Popular success is as it were, their self-therapy against depression and madness. In fighting for their aims, they are really fighting for their sanity."*

No doubt Gandhi was an extra-ordinary talented individual. I must make it very clear that except the statement of Gandhi that since childhood, he was a very truthful person we have no other corroborative evidence in this behalf. So in order to become the most wonderful person in the world, Gandhi started believing that since his birth he was a truthful person who never spoke a lie. To feed his narcissism he utilizes the feelings of spirituality that have always impressed Hindu mind. His entire thinking becomes oriented towards saintliness. This saint-

liness is going to help him give a new meaning to his life and gratify his ego-centricity. Gandhi is the typical example of a person who "loves the world by loving himself". This saintliness would also help him in due course of time to obliterate the memories of being an utter social failure in his early youth. We will now have to take a more dispassionate look at his character structure. In this behalf we cannot ignore some vital facts that throw light upon his personality. Gandhi in early youth was acutely aware of his inadequacies, his powerlessness, his limitations, his feelings of loss, of being a social failure, sense of his hurt ego, his inhibitions, his painful and insufferable awareness of being a coward, his anxieties of being condemned to a life of professional ineffectiveness, lack of utter self-confidence, extreme submissiveness to his parents, uncomfortable feelings of emptiness and boredom in life. All these factors in his youth added to the comprehensiveness of his impotence. We also cannot ignore the fact that Gandhi was a narcissistic person. So his feelings of impotence and narcissistic drives put him at that period of life literally on tenterhooks. He was driven by a passion to regain his social potency. This need demanded fulfillment regardless of the method involved. The only compensation for these tormenting inadequacies would be the insatiable desire to be effective. The only way Gandhi could have a feeling of effectiveness would be possible if he could have some power over others. The only power in the given set of circumstances he could wield over others was the so called spiritual power. He was forced by circumstances to become a saint. His saintliness is not the outcome of any lofty or altruistic temperament. On the contrary it is the aftermath of complex motives augmenting his desire to control others. It is the escape route provided to him for expatriating himself from

a highly mechanical and routinized existence. Hence Gandhi's saintliness that has the taint of spirituality in due course of time metamorphoses his impotence into omnipotence. This became possible because Hindu society at that time was essentially hierarchical in character. The chief characteristic of hierarchical society grounded upon caste-ism is the religious obligation upon the caste to look with awe upon the caste above and look down upon the caste below. Obedience to a person possessed of spirituality inheres in the structure of the caste-ridden society. As Gandhi under a psychological compulsion acted as a saint we find his acts camouflaged by a show of utter selflessness and piety. His benevolence and appeal is directed towards the Harijans, the low caste dregs of society. The helplessness, powerlessness and submissiveness of the Harijans was beyond redemption. They were socially unalive downtrodden, abject people with a sense of humiliation for uncommitted sins imputed to them by their religion. They were ideally suited to be objects of unlimited control by the spirituality of a high caste Hindu saint like Gandhi. He was never stimulated by the stronger and powerful segments of society. It is the dregs of society that gave Gandhi unstinted support and restored his sense of social effectiveness. Yet while at the height of his political and social power, Gandhi publicised feelings of his submissiveness. The following excerpt from his letter to viceroy of India mirrors his character:

> *"Lastly, I would like you to ask his Majesty's ministers to give definite assurance about Mohammedan states. I am sure you know that every Mohammedan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu, I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for their rights of those states and*

of the Muslim sentiment as to their places of worship, and your just and timely treatment of India's claim to Home Rule lies the safety of the empire. I write this, because I love the English nation, and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishmen".

Why did Gandhi publicise his loyalty to English nation? The answer is that the love of the English nation is the love of the English might. It evokes in Gandhi the sentiments of obedience and loyalty. This is the behaviour of a masochist who is always willingly obedient to one who possesses unlimited power. In psychoanalytical terms Gandhi is a hoarding character. Excerpt No. 15 quoted above shows his zeal to keep an account of every farthing he spent and how his expenses were carefully calculated. This mentality can only be explained on the hypothesis advanced by Dr. Eric Fromm. According to Dr. Fromm:

"The hoarder tends to feel that he possesses only a fixed quantity of strength energy or mental capacity and that stock is diminished or exhausted by use and can never be replenished. He cannot understand the self-replenishing function of all living substance and that the activity and use of our powers increase our strength while stagnation weakens it; to him death and destruction have more reality than life and growth. The act of creation is in miracle of which he hears but in which he does not believe. His highest values are order and security; his motto; "There is nothing new under the sun". In his relation to others, intimacy is a threat; either remoteness or possession .of a person means security. The hoarder tends to be suspicious and to have special sense of justice that in essence says:

"Mine is mine and yours is yours".

The hoarding character has only one way to feel safe in his relatedness to the world by possessing and controlling it, since he is incapable of relating himself by love and productivity.

"That the anal-hoarding character has the close relationship to sadism described by classic psychoanalysts is amply borne out by the clinical data and it makes little difference whether one interprets this connection in terms of the relatedness of the man to the world.

This also goes to explain that on the slightest pretext Gandhi used to observe fasts unto death like a typical anal-hoarding character. To him death had a special fascination. His only passion in life was to control Indian nation and this passion was so strong in him that he wanted by his spirituality to control not only the Hindu masses but the Muslim community as well. That is why all through his life Gandhi identified himself with Muslim causes. In the ultimate end he even sacrificed his own life. To gain spiritual control over Muslim community in India, Gandhi's attitude towards his acolytes was of a sadist. He wanted to reduce them to the status of an object and deprive them of their critical thinking. He could in no circumstances afford to create a situation wherein his followers could exercise independent critical thinking. Hence there was a methodicalness about his programme of Satyagraha to aim controlling of masses. The events of 1932 exemplify this character trait of Gandhi. He gave to the Indian Nation the programme of Non-cooperation Movement and made the bold statement that if people blindly followed his programme he would give them Swaraj (freedom) within a period of one year. People blindly cooperated with his Non-Cooperation Movement which was commenced in Bardoli in the state of Gujarat.

Soon like a wild conflagration the entire Indian continent was engulfed by the leaping flames of this unprecedented turmoil in Indian history. When the Non-cooperation Movement was in full swing and was raging like a ferocious storm throughout the length and breadth of the country, Gandhi the saint of Indian politics suddenly called off the movement. His reason for this extra-ordinary step was that at Chauri Chaura people had indulged in violence. The facts are that at Chauri Chaura some three thousand people had resorted to violence and some police constables and one inspector had got killed. The real reason for Gandhi's behaviour can be found in his complex personality. He wanted to act like a demi-god who had full control over Indian masses. He wanted to demonstrate to the British that he is "the pivot around which revolves the entire Indian politics". He could tear apart the Non-Cooperation movement at his mere whim and caprice. By this process he achieved the technicalisation of the non-violent Satyagarha. The English also realised that Gandhi was not a strong necrophilious character. They realised that he was an anal-hoarding character, sado-masochistic in attitude, who wanted to control masses as well as the policies of the Indian Government without meaning to be a true revolutionary. They also realised that Gandhi would continue to act like a Hindu saint averse to killing and destruction. He would deny his repressed strivings of sadism and violence by developing the traits which are exactly the opposite. Under tremendous psychological compulsion Gandhi had to develop a saintly character to secrete from the world his repressed strivings for sadistic violence. It would be profitable to quote an excerpt from Dr. Fromm

"A still more efficient form of repression is reaction

formations. This is clinically well established form of dealing with repressed stirrings; a person denies their existence by developing traits that are exactly the opposite. One example of these reaction formations was his vegetarianism. Not that all vegetarianism has this function but that it did in Hitler's case is indicated by the fact that he stopped eating the meat after the suicide of his half-niece Geli Raubal, who had been his mistress.

His whole behaviour at this time shows that he felt an intense guilt for her suicide. Even if we discard as unproven the suspicion found in the literature that he actually killed her in a fit of rage over her infatuation with a Jewish artist he could be blamed for her suicide.

> *"He held her like a prisoner, was extremely jealous, and had started a lively flirtation with Eva Braun. After Geli's death he fell into a state of depression, started a kind of mourning cult (her room remained undisturbed as long as he lived in Munich and he visited it every Christmas. His abstinence from meat was atonement for his guilt and the proof of his incapacity to kill. His antipathy for hunting probably had the same function."*

In the light of this passage, if we examine the vegetarianism of Gandhi, we discern that it suffers from great abnormality. His vegetarianism cannot be understood from the view of Hindu religion. His experiments in dietetics reveal his real motivation for becoming a vegetarian. Says Gandhi:

> *"I was anxious to observe brahmacharya in thought, word and deed equally anxious to devote the maximum time to the Satyagraha struggle and fit myself for it by cultivation of purity. I was*

therefore, led to make further changes and to impose greater restraints upon myself in the matter of food. The motive for the previous changes had been largely hygienic, but the new experiments were made from a religious standpoint. Fasting and restriction in diet now played a more important role in my life. Passion in man is generally co-existent with a hankering after pleasures of the palate. And so it was with me."

So the real reason for his vegetarianism is his guilty mind that is tormented by the thought of sexual passions. Sexual passions in man are a symbol of life-furthering processes. Gandhi is scared of life. He is scared of life-furthering processes. He considers passions as a taint of life. His attitude towards his spouse is one of deep suspicion. To quote his own words:

"One thing, however, I must mention now, as it pertains to the same period. One of the reasons of my differences with my wife was undoubtedly the company of this friend. I was both a devoted and a jealous husband and this friend fanned the flame of my suspicions about my wife. I never could doubt his veracity. And I have never forgiven myself the violence of which I have been guilty in often having pained my wife by acting on his information. Perhaps only a Hindu wife could tolerate these hardships and that is why I have regarded women as an incarnation of tolerance.

A servant wrongly suspected may throw up his job, a son in the same case may leave his father's roof, and a friend may put an end to the friendship. A wife if she suspects her husband will keep quiet, but if her husband suspects her, she is ruined. Where is she to go? A Hindu wife may not seek divorce in a law court. Law has no rem-

edy for her. And I can never forget or forgive myself for having driven my wife to that desperation. The canker of suspicion was rooted out only when I understood Ahinsa in all its bearings."

The characterological study of Gandhi shows that the only other character with whom we can compare him is Heinrich Hremmler—the bloodhound of Europe. If Gandhi was born in Germany and Himmler in India, the roles would have been reversed. Gandhi would have acted the bloodhound of Europe and Himmler would have proved himself a saintly politician. Gandhi and Himmler share a number of traits. Some of them may be summarised as under:

"Himmler was burdened with a submissive attitude, with a sense of insecurity and gaucheness. He lacked self-confidence and in youth was an utter failure. His signs of compassion and friendly tone were fake. He experienced lifelessness, banality, insignificance and submissiveness. In fact in all these respects he seems to be a perfect mirror image of Gandhi. His over-orderlines can be compared to the passion of Gandhi to keep an account of every farthing he spent. He was conservative and orthodox a trait we find glaringly blatant in Gandhi. He was most obedient to his father because of his submissiveness and not for any moral reasons. Gandhi likewise is contemptuous towards his father whom he calls a lustful man implying thereby that he was basically morally weak, yet he was most obedient to his father, out of sheer fright innate in his character. Himmler was afraid of life and strived all his life to seek an authority so that he could submit to it. Gandhi throughout his life was in need of a powerful father figure and at the beginning of his public career he changed his allegiance from his deceased .father to the

British Empire. Gandhi in a most obsequious manner proclaimed to the viceroy: "I write this because I love the English nation, and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of the English man". He in fact never rebelled against the British might. Every step he took was after the assurance that it was safe to take it. Gandhi was narcissistic like Himmler, and had always a longing for mother protection. Indian National Congress for him became a mother Protection Symbol. Himmler throughout his early life remained a milk baby shunning physical exercise. Gandhi in his youth was a weakling who abhorred athletics or physical exercise. According to B. F. Smith, (1971) Himmler put "so much distance between himself and opposite sex that there was soon little danger that his chastity would be threatened." Gandhi in a similar strain took an irrevocable vow to remain a Brahmacharya and endeavoured his utmost to advance all fake rationalisations to prove his point. Himmler used to adopt a schoolmasterish tone to his subordinates. Gandhi throughout his life acted like a village schoolmaster to demonstrate to his acolytes his moral superiority and to treat them like school children. His endless pontifications, inordinate homilies, pedestrian preaching in his autobiography *My experiments with Truth* have this schoolmasterish approach to life. Dr. Eric Fromm has summed up the character of Himmler in these words:

"Himmler is an example of typical anal-hoarding, sadistic, authoritarian character. He was weak (and did not only feel weak); he found a certain sense of security in his orderliness and pedantry, by submitting to strong father images and eventually he developed a passion for unlimited control over others as the one way to overcome his sense of vital impotence, shyness, uneasiness. He was

extremely envious of others whom life had endowed with more strength and self-esteem. His impotence and the resulting envy led to malicious wish to humiliate and destroy them, whether it was his brother Gebhard's Fiance or the Jews. He was utterly cold and without mercy which made him feel more isolated and more frightened.

"Himmler was also an absolute opportunist. His sadistic passion was always governed by what he thought was advantageous for him; he was disloyal and an inveterate liar- not only towards others, but equally towards himself.

"He coined the S.S. Motto "Loyalty is our Honour" and betrayed Hitler. He preached strength, firmness and courage, yet he was weak, flabby and cowardly. The true Hainrich was a living lie. Perhaps the only true thing he ever said about himself was a sentence he wrote to his father while he was in military training: "Have no fears on my account because I am sly as a fox".

"A behaviourist might still ask whether Himmler was not a normal man until circumstances made it advantageous for him to act sadistically. I believe our analysis has already answered this question. We have seen that all the conditions for a sadistic development were given in his earlier development. We have followed the development of his early insecurity, unmanliness, cowardice, sense of impotence and these attributes alone would indicate the probability of sadistic compensations.

"Moreover we have seen the development of his over-orderly, pedantic, typically anal-hoarding, authoritarian character.

"Eventually we have seen his overt pernicious sadism in dealing with his brother's fiance, long

before he had any power. We must come to the conclusion that the Reichfuhrer SS was a sadistic character before he was a Reichfubrer; his position gave him the power to act out his sadism on the historical stage, but the sadism was there before."

Each and every word of Dr. Fromm is applicable to the character of Gandhi. We cannot ignore the fact that Gandhi the demi-god of Indian politics betrayed his cherished ideal of one India. He accepted partition of India without demur. He was extremely envious of M.A. Jinnah because he thought him an insuperable hurdle in his way to gain control over Indian Muslims. His position gave him the power to act out his sadism on Indian political stage under the cover of saintliness. He always created the impression that he was keen to espouse Muslim causes in India, putting great emphasis on Hindu Muslim amity. According to an eminent scholar of Indian politics, Sir Penderal Moon, Gandhi left no stone unturned to Hinduise Congress politics. (See *Gandhi and modern India* by Sir Penderel Moon London 1969). Himmler acted out his sadism by becoming the bloodhound of Europe while Gandhi acted out his sadism by adopting the lofty mien of a prophet of humanity. It is very significant that Gandhi never undertook huge fasts for penance to anticipate and forestall Hindu-Muslim riots. All fasts for penance were undertaken in right earnest after the Hindu-Muslim riots in India had gathered the fury of a storm. So his fasts that astounded the world had always a post-riot backdrop. These traits of Gandhi thoroughly convinced the British rulers that Gandhi was extraordinarily suited to effectively thwart any armed struggle against the British rule in India. His overly patient, submissive, spiritless, tame and

meek attitude towards Indian National movement was propagandized by the British media as sainted politics that alone could lead India to freedom. The elitist Hindus had a vested interest to support this seemingly saintliest politics. Any armed struggle in India would have transferred power to the Indian masses and brought about an immediate liquidation of the British Empire. The first Great War had sown the seeds that would sprout and give rise to a situation leading to another bloody conflict in Europe. At that point of time, if the British felt compelled to quit India, they would pass on the mantle of power to the elitist Hindus. Gandhi in the process became an instrumentality in the hands of the British and the elitist Hindus for achievement of this design.

Gandhi was utilised as a contraption by the elitist Hindus to Hinduise congress politics. The elitist Hindus were eager to partition India. In one India the low caste-Hindus and Muslims would have effectively dominated the political stage. Viewed in this perspective one can safely comment that M.K. Gandhi is the real creator of Pakistan. In this behalf the comments of Dr. Lal are very apt. According to him "the partition of India was an event of great importance. It ushered in an era of independence, though the enthusiasm for it was somewhat diminished due to division. But even the partition is not without advantage. Had India remained a united whole, the Mussalmans would surely have dominated and would have shared in the amenities of life more than their due. Right traditions could never have developed as at every step special claims of the Mussalmans would have been advanced. "They could have taken roots only if homage were not paid to Muslim appeasement. But seeing the history of the Indian National Congress, this would have been

impossible... But as it never understood Muslim mind and character, it also never adhered to the principles in its dealing with Mussalmans. Expediency always came in operation in its treatment with Muslims.

"The territorial integrity of India could be a benefit to the country only in the event of equal treatment to all and in the absence of Muslim appeasement policy. Since the Congress was incapable of doing it, the division of the country cannot be seriously lamented.

"It was choosing between the two evils- Muslim domination over the whole country and the vivisection of Mother India and in accepting the latter position, perhaps a better evil was chosen." (See the Muslim League Page 345).

Gandhi's insistence that congress maintain a secular image had a socio-political objective. By his vocal clamour to admit Muslims to the congress organisation Gandhi meant to convey to the low-caste Hindus that Congress was not an exclusive Hindu elitist organisation. This enabled Gandhi to stem the rot and nip in the bud any rebellious attitude adopted by the depressed classes. This also enabled Gandhi to reconcile many conflicting interests between the High caste congress leadership and low caste followers of the congress party. Any Muslim, Sikh or low caste Hindu who avoided joining congress party was looked upon as an enemy of the elitist Hindus. In this permutation within the congress party the role of leadership was assigned to High caste Hindus, and the rank and file was constituted by the lower middle class shopkeepers and low caste factory and mill workers. This helped Gandhi to confront the British with a mass movement that would never imbibe any revolutionary spirit. This also explains the fact that congress working committee despite

being condemned to sharp cleavage of opinion on political issues, always successfully managed to hold the minorities' loyalty. It was no mean achievement for the elitist Hindus that formed the kernel of the congress party. The congress party was structured in such a manner that the working committee consisting of elitist Hindus acquired the unlimited power to issue binding political directives to the hierarchy of elected bodies at the state, district and the Taluka level, while the constitution of the congress party effectively prevented the rank and file from imposing its views upon the leadership. Hence in political terms it was one way traffic. The congress High Command assumed the dictatorship of the party.

The rank and file had to depend upon Gandhi for communicating its aspirations to the High Command. Gandhi became the bridge between the High Command of the congress party and its rank and file. This transformed the congress into an autocratic party so that formulation of policy decisions became the monopoly of elitist Hindu leadership. The rank and file was reduced to the level of a machine to be manipulated by this elitist class. Thus the Indian National movement led by Congress is the struggle of the elitist Hindus against British. It only has verisimilitudes of a real mass movement. The main aim of the various civil disobedience movements launched by the congress party under the leadership of Gandhi was not to cause political chaos or the immediate collapse of the British regime, but to cause sufficient political embarrassment to the British, bringing some pressure upon them to make a few concessions in favour of the propertied Indians. It was the aim of the congress party that British should pursue policy of status quo towards the low caste Hindus. This bi-focal view of Indian politics also

make it understandable why the vast cleavage between Congress and Muslims league remained unbridged; and congress adopted an ambivalent attitude towards the Muslims in India. However, in fairness to Gandhi, it may be stated that although his attitude towards Muslims was ambivalent yet he did a yoeman's service to the depressed classes. He also did a yoeman's service to the High caste Hindus by preventing the depressed classes to leave the Hindu fold. His attitude towards depressed classes was unambiguous and certain. He fought for omittance of the custom of untouchability. He fought for the omniparity of the low caste Hindus. He preached that omnipotent, omnipresent, and an omniscient God in his infinite wisdom did not make any human being a polluter and the pollutedness of the Harijans, sanctioned by Hindu Society in the context of the contemporary world was omissible. He was against the pollution aspect of casteism. His efforts led to the amelioration of the Harijans (outcastes). He convinced the priestly class of Hindus that a dismissive stance towards traditional casteism was in the interest of the elitist Hindus. He assured them that a blinkered perspective on this issue would lead to catastrophic consequences. However, Gandhi did not take any steps to bring about structural changes in the caste system. He did not advocate abolition of the five great strata into which the traditional Hindu society was fragmented. Abolition of untouchability would not mean the abolition of social and ritual status of the persons belonging to different castes. Gandhi did not preach the annihilation of the four major (varnas) of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The results were that the division of a caste into somniferous sub-castes remained untouched. So the influence of "Jati" remained unimpaired from a sociological stand point. Jati meant the various sub-castes within a caste functioning

as a social unit; within a defined local area consisting of a conglomeration of villages, rather than any particular region. Each Jati functional within a conglomeration of villages is associated with a particular occupation or limited range of occupations. It is the unity of interests in common occupation that acts as a unifying force for the jati. Hence in a village containing several jatis there is always inter-dependence of services to be rendered by different jatis. Each jati is associated with a particular area. This stratification of society acts as a barrier for any member of the jati to leave his group and join another jati or occupation. So despite the abolition of untouchability, the Hindu society could not gain manumission from the iron prison of jati. In this backdrop we have to examine the fact that high caste Hindus who constituted the congress High Command fully supported Gandhi in his campaign for abolition of untouchability. The reason is obvious. The high caste Hindus were yearning for rapid industrialisation of India. This would concentrate economic power in their hands. Industrialisation of India would be antithetical to the existence of untouchability. So to preserve the jati system that would leave the economic and political power in the hands of the high caste Hindus, India would have to adopt democracy based upon adult franchise. Democracy based upon adult franchise would mean that elections will have to be fought keeping in view the interests of the various jatis in different regions. So the interests of various castes would dominate elections in democratic India. The aftermath of this policy was that democratic set-up in India, instead of leading to the abolition of caste-system, made it more well entrenched. Gandhi spearheaded the Congress movement for abolition of untouchability and Swaraj grounded upon the pattern of British democracy based upon adult fran-

chise. This was done so that the real objectives of the elitist Hindus would not be made obvious to the downtrodden segments of Indian society. For these services rendered to elitist Hindus he was bestowed the honorific title of Mahatma. This also relieved the British rulers in India from the worry of an armed struggle by the downtrodden segments of the society. The only worrisome perplexity that evaded an easy solution for the Congress High Command was Muslim existence in India. A polytheistic religion like Hinduism could not absorb and imbibe a monotheistic religion like Islam. The only solution left for the congress High Command was to treat Muslims in India as an isolated group outside Hindu jati. It is this mentality that compelled the Congress to accept the Lucknow pact of 1916. The elitist Hindus realised that the only solution for the Muslim problem in India was partition of India. They did not realise that a significant segment of Muslim community would prefer to stay back in India. The result is that even after partition of India in 1947, the Muslim problem has not been solved. A uniform civil code leading to Hinduisation of Muslim culture seems to be the only solution to this vexatious problem from the elitist Hindu standpoint. But the real difficulty in the implementation of this grand strategy lies in the fact that according to the tenets and creed of strict orthodox Hindu religion a convert to Hinduism cannot shrug off the taint of social discrimination and must join the faith as low caste. The Indian Muslims believe that Hinduisation of Muslim culture will lead to greater social discrimination and economic exploitation. Eventually they would be reduced to the level of Sudras. Another factor that cannot be ignored is the emergence of powerful independent, sovereign, Muslim states in West Asia and the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism in Persia. The revival of Islam

in Afghanistan and Pakistan has also altered the entire scenario in this behalf. This means that in coming future Indian Muslims for the preservation of Muslim culture and ethos will look towards West Asia. Congress losing the centre position in Indian politics, the polarisation of rightist Hindu forces and Muslim fundamentalists would acquire a systematic regularness impeding all efforts at national integration. In a way this is going to prove ultimately salubrious to Indian politics. The rightist Hindu parties due to the prospect of disintegration looming large before their eyes would at some stage be compelled to foresake their intransigence and aim conciliation with religious minorities. However, this conciliation being a matter of grand strategy is not going to obliterate dissatisfaction and distrust, between the minority and majority communities. The resurgence of Islam in Russia and China is also going to enhance communal consciousness amongst Indian Muslims. This is going to give a new fillip to disintegrative tendencies in India. To thwart these disintegrative tendencies getting channalised, India will be further pushed towards Russia. China also being faced with the vexatious problem of disintegration in Sinkiang region will be forced to close its ranks with Russia. With the emergence of Russia, China and India as one block, the political undercurrents will help the west Asia to emerge as a strong Muslim block with the blessings of Europe and U.S.A. The result would be an inevitable confrontation between the Muslim block and the reformed Western block. It is difficult to anticipate the consequences of this confrontation. One fact however is obvious that in this changed scenario there should be no widespread enthusiasm that India Pakistan and Bangladesh are going to conciliate in near future. Political tension in Indian subcontinent is going to escalate rather than subside. The

rightist Hindu parties in one garb or the other are going to dominate the political scene in India. This Hinduisation of Indian politics is going to lead to the paradoxical emergence of low caste social groups as political units making Indian society more heterogeneous. This polarisation of castes into different political groups may accentuate anti-Brahmin sentiment in South India, and lead to greater southern hostility to North India. The rightist Hindus parties then would heavily rely upon the reformed communist block for support. One can come to the conclusion that the democratisation of the communist world is going to reinforce political relations between Russia and China. The Russia, China nexus is going to emerge stronger in near future extending its influence to India. The next confrontation in the 21st century will be between the Muslim block and the reformed communist world in Asia. The Indian sub-continent cannot remain obdurate to these confrontationist influences and shall become the battlefield of West Asia. In very near future, Chinese may like to extend their hegemony to Bangladesh. This will compel the Bangladeshis to soften their attitude towards Pakistan and despite the invincible hardness of Bengali heart towards stubborn Punjabis, the law of survival will compel Bangladeshis to forge a confederation with Pakistan. In this backdrop without putting in one's oar with some objectification, it may be commented that it would be advisable for India and Pakistan to restore the former Jammu and Kashmir state to the position it was holding on August 14th 1947. A semi-autonomous Jammu and Kashmir state which is obedient in foreign affairs to both India and Pakistan may prove an effective buffer for deadening the forces of political concussion between the two states. This will also help both India and Pakistan to restrain their Bulimia for the state of Jammu and Kashmir. On the contrary the partition of the Jammu and Kashmir state on the lines indicated in Dixon plan will only help to exacerbate hostility between India and Pakistan. The test of statesmanship for both India and Pakistan is to establish some sort of confraternity at this critical juncture, rather than being overtaken by events and being manipulated by extraneous forces hatefully, shamefully, cursedly and confoundedly. How far both India and Pakistan will come to face this new challenge thrown up by the political events of a disintegrative twentieth century will continue to remain in the domain of speculation for the nonce. For what I have stated herein above is not meant to be a fatalic prophesy about future, but a misty political calculation that may not turn out to be quite accurate.

The political events in West Asia are in a flux and any political prediction based upon the contemporary configuration of world politics cannot have more substance than the manic surrealism of a crack-pot artist, whose meandering thoughts and confused imagination collide and nudge each other brusquely in derelict corners of his mind and whose linear geometry on paper ultimately provides clues that hint at nothing. We are groping in a nonsensical situation. Suffice it to say that one cannot sideline the obvious fact that militancy in third world and in underdeveloped countries has taken a slide downwards and reached the plane of lampoon patriotism in a vicious manner. The problem with militancy is that it teaches its protagonists to die for the country and live for nothing, while patriotism signifies living and dying for an ideal. The modern militant chases the shadow, when the substance is gone. This hype of militancy is tediously wearisome like taking a bird's eye view of a difficult subterranean maze in an Egyptian Pyramid. In militancy the en-

nobling core of patriotism gets replaced by deftly designed perfidy. Means become irrelevant and the end becomes the means. This provides rollicking bit of success to the executioner of this art. I have used the term art because militancy has become intricate art in modern world which is sustained by the defence industries of the developed nations. This commercialisation of patriotism lacks ideological foundations and its machinations are invariably fusion-fed. This entangling device of Militancy in underdeveloped countries is operated systematically by the small arm industries that also keep it alive in their own interests. Militancy represents the violent urge of an organised group for power. For the levity it is stilted and stale, full of ennui, and is a politically limp production. Its magnetism for people still in the verdure of their youth is tremendous. One reason is that in the contemporary static life, slogged by over-urbanisation to escape meaninglessness of life, it provides enticing illusions and youthful thrill through passionate violence to emotionally disturbed children who want to act super-heroes cheered by adoring fans in the stands. To win accolade of the masses the youth have to enact this drama of terrorism spiked by sheer ruthlessness. The result is that modern militant is always an avenging giant but never a chivalrous knight-errant. Patriotism invariably has the approval of the masses, while militancy has the adoration of a group thirsting for power. Hence militancy is barbaric. It is brutalising with brutality performed with panache. It is coldly hysterical and chilling and produces antiheroes.

"Kashmir, the land of Kyship Reshi, fortunately has not witnessed this hype of militancy. The low profile insurgency in Kashmir has the support of the man in the street. One has to realise that insurgency in Kashmir is

nothing but the urge of the people for freedom. The low profile insurgency in Kashmir draws its life blood from the patriotism of the youth. It mirrors the inevitable urge of the people for freedom. The realisation of this verity by the Indian politicians will ease tensions in this battered state. The obvious objective of low profile insurgency in Kashmir seems to be to escalate the cost of retaining Kashmir by India. During Vietnam war economic considerations triggered off the dragon tail effect in which "a mere twitch at the tail base can become a proxysm by the time it reaches the tip". When the dragon tail effect finally lashed out, the United States found the cost of retaining Vietnam was extravagant. According to statistics it meant thirty billion dollars and ten thousand lives a year. India and Pakistan are both financially troubled states. Both these states cannot afford to overlook the signals that Kashmir ultimately can prove for both of them a "monster in the woods". The Kashmir issue is a spider in its own web, weaving strands that may smother the subcontinent. The smaller SAARC countries prefer this situation and barely conceal their glee that India and Pakistan continue to remain at logger-heads. In this they feel lies their own safety. To understand the armed struggle in Kashmir, one has to recall to mind the recent past. In forties the Congress in India called the shots. Sheikh Abdullah the showboy of Congress emulated the Congress example by proclaiming Quit Kashmir movement with a view to overthrow the Maharaja of Kashmir. Then came the great divide of 1947. The Maharaja instead of passing on the sovereignty to the people bestowed it on a platter to the Indian union. His purpose was to safeguard Hindu interests. Sheikh Abdulla flagitiously became an implement for facilitating the designs of Maharaja. The people felt betrayed and cheated. This nefarious, vicious, iniquitous

political move over-reached the quit Kashmir movement itself. People regarded the Indian Union as ersatz Maharaja. The political aspirations of the people were thwarted. People felt betrayed and cheated. The present insurgency in Kashmir is only a continuation of the Quit Kashmir movement of the early forties. The violence and the armed struggle of the people has only united them as never before and restored to them self-respect. Hence appeal to patriotism in Kashmir will endure. The Quit Kashmir movement of the early forties was an ace in the hole for Indian Congress in its policies towards Kashmir. The current insurgency is the obverse side of this coin. The Indian policy has fallen about its ears and the people have now risen in open revolt against Indian domination across the board. Indeed the Indian Administration has met this challenge with great obtuseness. Indian Administrative measures in such a situation can only succeed after a fashion; and can never put to right the current situation that has gone awry. The great powers will only queer the pitch for both India and Pakistan. The greatest lurking danger is that the great powers may manipulate Kashmiri subnationalism as a cat's paw for achieving the further balkanization of the Indian sub-continent. India and Pakistan cannot afford to stupidly tempt providence while the situation further deteriorates with both of them finding themselves up the dangerous creek. Somebody has to break the vicious circle and take a hard look realistically at the current situation. Even Bangladesh cannot turn a blind eye to the turmoil in the northern India. The entire West Asia could get wrapped up in this game of cat and mouse. Even the so-called absurd idea of "confederation of Kashmir, Pakistan and India" requires a second look. The internationalisation of Kashmir valley once suggested by C. Rajagopalachari may have to be reexamined, before

the turn of events puts the entire subcontinent under the thumb of someone else. Other seemingly plausible solutions like plebiscite in the valley also cannot be ruled out. However, the constitutive element of any solution of this imbroglio should be based upon the verity that Jammu and Kashmir State is unlike any other state in India. Jammu and Kashmir State is a mini-sub-continent. It is polyglot, multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-religious. It has great variations in its geographical features lying between 32.17 and 36.58 North parallel and 73.26 and 80.30. East longitude bordering on five states India, Pakistan, China (Tibet and Sinkiang) Afghanistan and Russia. As such truncation of the State will have international ramifications. It would be in the interests of the five states bordering Jammu and Kashmir state to restore the integrity of the state including its three administrative divisions, namely, the Province of Kashmir; the Province of Jammu and frontier Ilaqas totalling 82,258 square miles so that a federal set-up is constituted assuring complete autonomy to the three geographical divisions of this state. We should not ignore the fact that Persian Gulf countries would never relish India becoming a maritime power and a menace for them. The low profile insurgency in Kashmir in near future may get succour from Gulf countries whose aim is to establish a Greater Afghanistan and a strong Pakistan to hold India in a vice-like grip. The Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries may prefer an independent Kashmir or even a Kashmir divided between India and Pakistan. This has rendered the politics in this part of the world messiest in all its ramifications. In years to come the Indian public opinion will find it tedious to put a muzzle on Kashmiri nationalism. The muddle-headed mountebankery of the rightist Hindu politicians and their over sentimental and musky approach to Kashmiri nationalism may

put them on a collision course with Persian Gulf countries leading to mutinous, rebellious and seditious commotion amongst Indian Muslims. Savage communal killings may soon become the order of the day. The communal situation in India is highly protean. The protagonists of Hindu India may find that their antagonists may mesh together with a machine like precision and subscribe to the credo of another Muslim land within Indian sub-continent. This would prove the dead end on this street. Communal violence alone provides opportunity to the Indian masses for the cathartic discharge of their pent up aggressive tendencies. India of course is a land where Satan never sleeps. Indian politicians will have to perceive this precept through the thick mist of incomprehensible ongoing events. Tamil Nationalism is another simmering hot spot. People with percipience will be able to notice that motives of China, Japan and Korea to convert South Asia into a consumer market for their Industries, may encourage them to lend succour to the violent Tamil Nationalism. The peregrine influences in South India may give rebirth to the sentiment of Tamil individualism and it may then be difficult for rightist Hindu parties to buck the winds of change and anti-conformity. Tamil violence worship in Sri-Lanka should not be viewed as an affair of virtue. It may soon become the eloquence of Southern separatism. Violence in India operates with peak efficiency. In Indian politics violence is not a pursuit of goal but a way of life. The Indian politics has already become a bramble bush and the prickly question is when Indian political opinion will brood by the realities of the situation. The Indian think tank is only convulsively uproarious and with utter lack of political perception. Intellectuals are only indulging in side-splitting misadventures. Indian intellectual is a quixotic dreamer who is illusion-

fed and lives in an imaginary world of Indian glory. It would do well to the Indian politicians to shrug off their soap-opera sensibilities and view the current Indian politics from the acmes of reality. To survive India will have to give up its dream of dominating South Asia or of becoming a great maritime power which of course keeping in view the domestic Indian affairs is a side splitting farce. The Indian policy planners should give up over industrialisation and again endeavour to become an agricultural country with no military ambitions. The policy of Indian expansionism may ultimately prove perfidious, and in the chill of current realities it would do well to the jingoist rightist Hindu elements to warm themselves on old memories of Indian glory. By becoming an agricultural country India will reach a high degree of excellence without getting involved in South Asian rivalries. Industrialisation in India is a perilous undertaking as it is going to unleash antagonistic forces that may stir up antagonistic emotions in different states in India. This would tempt China, Japan and Korea to make India a battlefield for the domination of South Asia and Persian Gulf countries. The current politics is not a Lilli ting melody but a jumble of strident discordant voices. It only makes us realise the saddening cost of being an Asian. Shakespeare was certainly right in saying: "Like flies to wanton boys are we to the gods; they kill us for their sport".

At the pain of reiteration I may state the obvious fact that the present generation in Kashmir regards Kashmir's prosperity under Indian rule as nothing but moonshine. They regard various economic plans undertaken by the Government as having a limited objective to create a new class of vested interests constituting a bunch of contemporary judas. The real problem in Kashmir is the politico-

psychological urge of the people to realise their nationalistic aspirations. India so far has pursued a policy of neocolonialism in Kashmir. People mistrust Indian intentions. They have a feeling that autonomy within Indian union will turn out to be an off-colour joke. Indians on the contrary feel that the man in the street will sooner or later tire out and yearn for status quo ante. In a way this to some extent is true: The most noticeable aspect of the present situation is the emergence of the ground realities that indicate a "No war-No peace" situation. The recent Parliamentary elections conducted in Jammu & Kashmir state in full measure this mentality.

This "No war-No peace" situation is in fact a nefarious state of affairs that has stultified creative thinking and habituated the masses to cultivate a particular attitude of mind. That makes it easy for an individual to accept the inevitable fate. This is defeatism at its worst. The consequence is that people are mentally prepared for the worst. To the man in the street the worst that can happen is death.

So far as the man in the street is concerned strange it may seem, the death has lost its sting. It is shorn of its tragic character and is viewed upon as a simple mechanical process manipulated by the unseen hand of destiny, on an utterly broken abacus;

Nobody laments the dead. Death is always welcome in any Kashmiri home. Due to the gory strife it has become common-place. Death in the valley is an unnoticeable event even for the bereaved family.

What are the psychological explications for this state of mind?

Is it that the importance of death has been abated by the realisation that the majority of those who are killed

are young who have no past and no future? Is it that under the stress of political turmoil the people have become chronically immature? Why is it that contrary to all laws of logic the people have developed an anti-life syndrome? Is it the fact that a powerful suicidal impulse has turned the docile people into restive wrong-headed demons? Or is it that befuddled masses are in the thrall of their own grandiloquent emotions wrapped in the tabernacles of excessively fiery words that only exhibit their innate agony? Some commentators over-simplify the explanation and say that death has lost its travails because people have been ennobled and compulsively feel motivated to die for the noble cause of Azadi.

Only some committed social scientist who makes a profound study of the current social ambience can claim to resolve this charade. The upshot of this queer situation is that the traditionally timid Kashmiri has now developed a fortitude that has magically smothered the traditional lament for the dead.

Any visitor to the valley can discern that with the advent of the current movement for "AZADI" graveyards have sprung up in every corner of the country. In fact, graveyards can be found in thousands of quiet places and down the countless village lanes. The graves are scattered far and wide, even on the inclines of hillocks, down the slopes of mounds and even upon raised plateaus dotting the rural landscape. Those who barnstorm through the countryside may find graves near mountains even by the side of gelide streams or near the banks of shimmering ponds, on the fringes of hillside copse and usually beneath the glowing canopy of quaking aspens. Often while ambling one stumbles across tombstones lying in series or circularly in most desolate places amidst the bright wild

flowers and fragrant blossoms of crimson yellow and red, in the shadows of steep bluffs, bathed in mutational light or eerie looking in the twilight of the dusk. They make you realise how many people have died for the motherland. The intensity of this realisation clouds your mental vision so that the innumerable shadows cast by the graves begin to linger like spooks, while from far behind the mountains, the full moon rises very slowly penetrating through the tremulous verdant leaves, making these shadows linger on the surface quivering and the onlooker feels that the spirits of the dead have come alive to mesmerize the mind.

One realises the futility of the mundane world and sees the grim reality through the mist of magically evocative emotions spotlighting the obvious fact that the highly exalted human personality is nothing but a meaningless figure drawn by a lunatic in moment of uncontrollable frenzy upon the crumbling walls of life itself.

These intense feelings by psychologists may be dismissed as exaggerated folderol but they in a fairly large measure highlight the helplessness of life making death an indelible scribble upon the blank sheet of eternity to be decipherable by sophists of future generations.

All that I can say is that the onlooker of these derelict graves cannot avoid the feeling of being unwarily trapped half-way between life and hell.

This diffusive pessimism that has overwhelmingly engulfed the valley has also in a very subtle manner liberated the people from any anxiety about future. Indeed the impression that a visitor to the valley gets is that the people are too occupied with the present.

This pessimism explains elaborately the behaviour of

the Kashmiri intellectuals who do not want to face reality. The intellectuals avoid action by indulging into political gossip of a fanciful kind. The man in the street thinks that they have betrayed the movement for Azadi. The intellectuals who claim to be sympathisers of the current mass movement are most of the time busy in formulating highly speculative political conclusions based upon visionary schemes and chimerical plans floating impractical ideas buttressed by totally impotent logic, yearning to achieve status quo ante.

The considerable group of sophisticated intellectuals belonging to bureaucratic hierarchy or upper echelons of society gather in tastefully appointed rooms of huge deluxe mansions (a testimony to their ill-gotten gains) over the most exquisite cuisine, claiming to be the brightest minds from disparate callings, who while fully enjoying the dainty dishes, vex their minds to plumb the complex issue of Kashmir independence.

They are vociferous, noisy, enthusiastic and as a matter of habit always lament the parlous state of affairs that has caught them unawares. They brainstorm to ventilate opinions that are farcical in their content, about implications of wide ranging influences that have engulfed the valley.

The most curious feature of these intellectual discussions is that crude imagination and wild speculation is being presented as knowledge. Implacable emotion is being considered as immaculate logic. Words and often senseless words simply gush out from their mouths with the feral ferocity of a mountain spring only to provide a medium for sharing opinions in which they do not believe. The ensemble gives the impression that the Kashmiri intellectual is torn apart mentally in contradictory direc-

tions. So he wants the return to status quo ante.

For this type of Kashmiri intellectual, the nemesis is indeed grave. The everyday realities spoil the magnificent and eye catching tapestries of his utopian existence. The Kashmiri intellectual deserves our sympathy and pity. He is bankrupt so far refreshingly fresh ideas are concerned and has nothing to offer to his compatriots except high sounding words without any meaning. He wants return to pre-1953 position as it would give him a sense of security and achievement.

The bulk of Kashmiri youth on the other hand are more pragmatic. I earnestly believe that if any solution to the Kashmir problem is to be found in near future both India and Pakistan will have to ignore the Kashmiri intellectuals and talk directly to the pragmatic youth who are the soul force of current insurgency.

The Indian public opinion should comprehend that the lotus-eaters of the Kashmir valley are shrewd, have a calculating mind and have the faculty of instinctive knowledge that is always far superior to mere euphemism.

It is a sad state of affairs that at the present climacteric moment the Indian public opinion is mostly dominated by rightist elements who are caught in an ideological delirium of Hindutva or a Hindu state.

The idea of a Hindu state with all its ugliness will always repel Kashmiri Muslims. It is an irony that even during the present trying times; the reactionaries in India view the upheaval going on in Kashmir upside down, so while not noticing the nightmare, they are trudging through it.

For the orthodox reactionary Hindus, the Kashmiri Muslim baiting has become a hellish vocation.

These implacable reactionary elements are busy creating horrifying hells for themselves by provoking those who do not see eye to eye with them, and while doing so, they forget the trenchant lesson of history that intolerance in any sphere of life always paves the way that leads down step by step to pits of perdition. Even a rabid Hindu India will have to come to terms with a predominantly Muslim Kashmir. Shiv-Sena and R.S.S cannot ignore this basic reality.

It is unfortunate that in the given existing situation the die-hard Hindu elements in Jammu and India are clamouring that mass diaspora of Kashmiri pundit community from the valley to India should be utilized by the Indian zealots for altering the demographic character of the valley. Such a senseless move would perpetuate the strife and lead to bloodbath of unprecedented character. In such a situation the Afghans across the borders may find it tempting to overwhelm the valley reducing it to a district of Afghanistan.

The idea of re-conquest of valley by altering the demographic character of its population nurtured by the ultra-rightist political elements in India is apparently fraught with disastrous consequences for the sub-continent. Greater Afghanistan can lead to balkanization of both India and Pakistan.

In such an eventuality, the microscopic pundit community will be blamed for the disaster and made a scapegoat. In fact, one can have an audacious vision of this microscopic community being fully assimilated in the migrant wave of Indian population. In its own interest the Kashmiri pundit community should pointblank refuse to get exploited in this nefarious game of politics?

The Kashmiri pundit community should realize that getting absorbed in the inundation of Indian culture would compel them drift like a tiny wave in an illimitable turbulent ocean, widening the hiatus leading to absolute perdition. To their horror they would find themselves utterly deracinated from their culture, history, heritage and home-land.

The Jews realised the importance of perpetuating their religious and cultural identity. I have personally always admired the Jews for their social resilience. Their distinctiveness not only gave them succour for fifteen hundred years of statelessness but made them sturdy, strong, resilient and unbroken. The Jews are a remarkable people and deserve our whole hearted admiration.

To opt for tortured choices, when historical forces appear menacing and events beyond control seem to overwhelm threateningly, is dicy like trailing the promethean plume of scorching conflagration.

The Kashmiri Pundit community will have to learn a new everything about the mystique of building bridges of understanding with their kissing cousins. In this behalf they should take lessons from Jewish history, Jewish traditions and Jewish way of life.

Their complete identification with Indian culture clouds the real issue. They should realise their cultural roots are amongst their own people in their own land. They have to once again realise that utter mistrust cannot be allowed to function as a fulcrum of see-saw animosities with those who are culturally and linguistically close to them. Hatred blurs the vision and can never provide a denouement to the aspirations of the people and their enigmatic dreams enacted upon the centre-stage of this

world.

Deep-rooted mistrust is a false mariner's compass and one cannot sail the oceans of wild imagination to reach a non-existing destination.

To build affiliations is always a more arduous task than destroying the bridges of understanding.

To build sound affiliations one has to compel oneself to be an optimist in outlook and develop a mental disposition to take a hopeful view of events, even when everything seems to go awry. For this purpose one has to develop character to bear with fortitude the massive deprivations inflicted by the course of history. The Jews realised the wizardary of this approach to life and. This enabled them to avoid feeling the white heat of rising fears about future. Likewise Kashmiri Pundits should have no fear about their future in Kashmir.

At the present moment the ideological chasm between Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri pundits has considerably widened. The common man is motivated by gut reaction. This is highly sadistic that Indian Hindus enjoy the plight of Kashmiri pundits. The deprivations of Kashmiri pundits provide grist to their propaganda mill. The R.S.S and Shiv-Sena do not want the Kashmiri pundits to emerge from the netherworld of interminable distrust because they have their own axe to grind. The mass exodus of Kashmir Pandits from the valley has led to the collapse of the Indian intelligence apparatus in the valley. The gathering of internal intelligence by forces has become a costly affair. The only method left to obtain information is through sustained interrogation of suspected militants. The interrogators are a formidable fear machine who put a high premium upon third degree methods. Brutalisation

of the suspect, shattering his faculty of comprehensibility, annihilating his concern for self-esteem, reducing him to the level of an automaton, and forcing him to dialogue, while subjecting him to inhuman torture of a debasing kind, is considered to be an inextricable part of information gathering process.

Several custodial deaths that have occurred in the interrogation centres bear a grim testimony to the gross and rank abjection of investigatory methods used by the police. Most of interrogators are Kashmiri pundits. A study of the torture cases carried out by 'Asia Watch' and 'Amnesty International' indicate that information gathering is only a by-product, while the main aim of the interrogators is revenge or sadistic pleasures. This ardent tendency is reinforced by aggressive and premeditated bias fuelled by naked hatred of Kashmiri Muslim community. During interrogation sessions, the cops go berserk under an uncontrollable impulse. They get brutified and unfeelingly utilize physical torture to feed fat their spite.

With loathing brutishness of an exceedingly fiendish kind they sexually abuse the young suspect in a most bizarre manner too shameful to be put into print.

The civil liberty organizations, the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the Asia Watch have been debarred from visiting these torture houses.

Stories of torture leak out from the torture houses and make rounds with viciousness inciting the youth to avenge their honour by joining ranks with militants.

The spectacle of raped women, tortured youth, and blood-stained habiliments of the innocent killed, rouse the feeling of vengeance and make violence reverberate

throughout the valley. Brutalisation and violence tempered with pathological ferocity of eyeless hate has turned the valley into a bedlam of desperate savagery. The killing truth is that at the moment there is no escape from this hellish situation. The Kashmiri populace has faced untold persecution since the Pathan rule. During alien rule, Kashmiris have always been put on the rack. The females have been the worst sufferers. Even men were subjected to satanic ordeals. Sometimes the genital organs were chopped, the essential extremities crushed, their buttocks mangled, the arse used to be stuffed with thick batons or shards. The raping hermaphrodites felt this was the only way to conquer the will of the people. The people have never forgiven them and have always yearned for freedom. The people still cling tenaciously to the idea of freedom. Indians should learn lessons from this brutal past history.

The rise of Hindutva sentiment in India is the capital cause of the present movement for Azadi. Muslim fear of Hindu domination was the main cause of the partition of Indian sub-continent. At the current moment the Kashmiri Muslims' fear of Hindu domination has added an all fired zeal to the zest for independence. To understand this basic fact is to comprehend the intricacies of the Kashmir tangle.

The Indian administration of the state is fully cognizant about the ground realities. It realises that the entire Muslim population of the valley is politically alienated. To keep an appearance of administrative efficacy the administration has pathologically developed a sinister proclivity to descend to the depths of degradation in lying to the world about the actual happenings in the valley. An impression is being created that it is only a segment of

unlettered people who are the arch trouble shooters. The Indian public opinion is totally ignoramus about the actual fact and situation. So far the State administration is concerned; egregious deceit has become the pronounced key-factor in policy-making based upon aggressive propagandizing with the chief object of diddling public opinion in India. All political parties in India share this strategy because events in Kashmir have a tremendous impact upon the political fortunes of these myriad parties. All political parties are lying to the Indian masses about the current situation in Kashmir.

The consequences are that people in India are totally in the dark about the crucial events in Kashmir. It is highly regrettable that in a democracy like India deluding the public about political turmoil in Kashmir has become the focal point of politics for all Indian nationalist parties.

At the present moment the state administration can be characterised what the ancient Greeks used to describe as Kakistrocracy. In such an administration the truth is the first casualty and vicious influences motivate the centres of power to feed falsities to the world opinion. This diabolical process robs the administration of its credibility. This leads to impairment of the morals of the bureaucrats. Deceit and corruption becomes the order of the day. Bureaucracy has ceased to be a bridge between the people and the rulers. With subversion of official values the present day officials assist the subversion of the administration. In such a situation the nadir is soon reached. To rule effectively becomes difficult without military assistance. Military has a limited role to play. It can only be utilized as an implement to suppress masses. Such a situation has trans-national repercussions. The smaller countries of the subcontinent like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh,

and Pakistan cannot remain nonchalant spectators. To contain an expansionist India they feel compelled to lend succour to the domestic turmoil within India. The upshot of this situation is that politically conscious people in the sub-continent who are a microscopic minority have become alarmist and fear the truculent Armageddon may in the early part of the twenty first century be fought over the plains of Punjab or hills of Kashmir.

The Kashmiri political setting is still perplexing and politicians who want to logicise the illogicality of the current situation find themselves bewildered. One fact however is clear beyond any shadow of doubt. The rise of Hindutva sentiment in India is going to prove the ne-plus-ultra of political crassitude. This meretricious but alluring powerful influence has reduced politics to verbal legerdemain. It is mainly responsible for the insurgency in Kashmir.

Street corner logomachists appeal fervently to the passions of Hindu mind rather than to cold logic. The sequel is that the rise of Hindutva sentiment instigated in the recent years by the manic Hindu ultras has completely alienated the Kashmiri community and even in different parts of India especially Punjab accelerated intensively the centrifugal tendencies. This is an outré situation and may put India on a collision course with Muslim West Asia. The cliche "that danger to India is from within and not without" is true.

The doctrine of Hindutva is extremely irrational because it has a tendency to unleash overwhelmingly powerful forces of ethnic and inter-caste animosities within India. The inter-caste war if once started may prove to be a gory turmoil providing an excellent opportunity to China to reduce India from the status of a rival to a Vassal state.

One should not ignore the fact that Tamil insurgency in such a situation may rise above the level of obstreperous quill-driving and become a real frightening menace. Even the Myanmar regime may not remain a passive on-looker. It may lend its whole weight to the North-Eastern States to strive for greater autonomy. One cannot rule out the possibility that in such a scenario Bangladesh may again federate with Pakistan and lay claim to strategic areas in East Bengal and Assam. All this open-ended muddle could be avoided if the concept of Hindutva could be abandoned by the ultra-rightist political parties in India.

The entire west Asia is in a boiling pot. In all Asian countries the rulers are greatly relying upon their armies for support. In West Asia armies are being used as an instrument of terror. So every political party in West-Asia including Indian Sub Continent has endeavoured to penetrate the armed forces. This has made this region politically unstable. Hindu ultras now control the higher echelons in the armed forces. The policy of suppressing people in Kashmir is inevitable concomitant to the rise of Hindutva.

Now a few words about a massacre in Sopore. Sopore is a small town but is famous as the apple town of the sub-continent. It is situated in the north of Srinagar;

In the pre-independence days it was a cluster of flourishing hamlets. From pure demographic point of view it was not even qualified to be called a town. The people were abjectly poor. Their chief occupation was fishing as the town abuts the largest lake in Asia.

The land is highly fertile and produces abundantly. Most of the land is paddy land. The townsmen are fetishistic and extremely superstitious. The setting of this town

even today is essentially agrestic. The stories of fetches and wraiths of living persons, abounding its fens and holms and of angry apparitions and hobgoblins lurking in hillside copse chasing, unwary commuters and travellers with alluring fetch candles during stormy winter nights can be heard in villages even today, with credence writ large on the fore-head of the story tellers. Everybody educated or un-educated wants to believe these stories. In fact most of the people believe in saints and abnormal veneration of fetish is common. This adds to the sylvan glamour of this town. Sopore is a small town with prejudices and small town mentality. It typifies other towns in the valley. The townspeople are zealous, ardent and warm towards visitors.

People are mirthful and cherish festivities. Every festal occasion in the town is celebrated with great joyfulness. The life in this town is not dynamic but brady-kinetic. Festivals are observed with great solemnity. Every festival big or small bears the name of some venerable saint of yore whose mausoleum attracts a big crowd. On such occasions the kith and kinsmen are feted with exquisite dainty Kashmiri wazwan dishes. The occasion provided opportunity to the village community to vend their wares.

However, it may be pointed out that post 1947 period brought about a climacteric transformation in the lives of the people. Post 1947, the government abolished feudalism. Big Landed Estates Act was promulgated putting a firm ceiling upon land holdings. This was the turning point in the lives of the people. The rural society became fatally topsy-turvy. The land vested free of all cumbrances in the vassals and landless of yester years. Those who prided themselves as lords-superior overnight lost their fiefs.

There economic clout was gone. They felt being broiled over live-coals in a brazier.

For the common man the economic regeneration had commenced with a loud bang. Soon it was discovered that Sopore soil was exceedingly fertile for growing apples. A fierce endeavour began by every farmer in the town to convert his paddy field into an apple-orchard. Growing apples meant money. Mandarins in the Agricultural department of the State comprehended this obvious fact.

They with a view to make quick lucre entered into a business like co-operation with the fruit growers. This was the first step to open out the flood gates of corruption in the State.

The political bigwigs encouraged overtly this policy. The result was that fruit was allowed to be transported to Delhi. Then came the second phase in this process. The co-operative organisations of apple-growers in the town soon developed strong financial ties with Indian commission agents operating from Delhi.

Kashmiri fruit-grower-Delhi nexus became the backbone of new political realism. The apple growers of Sopore made extensive use of private credits offered by commission agents in Delhi.

This economic activity helped the apple growers to obviate complicated financial entanglements associated with this trade. Thus during early fifties and late sixties the boom in apple trade metamorphosed this neglected cluster of hamlets into a premier apple town of India.

During sixties when rules were bent to meet new economic realities, the orchardists in the valley started growing richer at a break-neck speed. Money started circumlocuting in the town at a frantic pace. The economic boom overturned the established harmony in the rural society.

The religious mores of the people were profoundly affected. A new breed of arrivistes dominated the town's life.

The Hindu gymno-sophists, the gyrating Muslim dervishes, the bearded pirs, the story tellers of poltergeists, the chroniclers of saints, the mysterious fortune tellers, the all-wise sooth-sayers lost their primordial importance. The filthy rich were no longer dependent upon their blessings. On the contrary the miracle makers were economically leaning upon the opulent.

They were paid to invoke divine lenity to lengthen their days and to augment the riches of their coffers. The patrons on their part had no time left for spirituality. Sopore and its denizens had undergone a massive transformation. Sopore was no longer a cluster of shabby villages. Now it was pitched high as a vibrant town. People called it Mini-London. There is no denying the fact that Sopore swiftly was surpassing the other fruit producing towns in northern India. Indian taxation laws exempted from its dragnet the agrarian economy. This enabled the money to flow unimpeded into the town.

The upshot was that even without merchant banks, even without insurance companies, even without the succor of credit institutions, the apple growers of Sopore were able to make a fast buck. Sopore was flourishing. The affluence led to the gradual switch of more and more capital into fruit industry.

The people by and large considered Kashmir's union with India as a blessing. At this crucial juncture destiny played a decisive role in topsy-turvying the entire situa-

tion. It is a grim fact of contemporary history that contrary to all laws of logic, the Hindu ultra-reactionary elements who wielded considerable clout viewed this economic transformation of a small town in Kashmir with unconcealed alarm and hostility.

They realised that the economic boom in Sopore would help Kashmiri Muslims to forge a close nexus with Muslims in India. This would lead to social awareness and fresh endeavours by the Muslim community in North India to modify the structure of Muslim economy in India. The average Hindu imagined that prosperous Muslim community in North India would develop fissiparous tendencies.

This state of mind reflected political crassitude that only enabled the Hindu intellectuals to believe the pretentious kitsch that economic misery of Indian Muslims would only secure their loyalty to India.

The Indian entrepreneurs and capitalists under the overriding political influence of high caste Hindus were hesitant to invest capital in Kashmir. On the contrary capital was invested in Jammu and the castiest elements in politics maintained a campaign touting the canard that the pre-dominantly Muslim government of National Conference in the State, was quintessentially anti-Jammu. A wedge was driven between the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Karan Singh, the scion of the erstwhile Dogra ruling family, publicly toyed with the idea of Dogra Desh. The mandarins in the central government also lent their full support to the idea that the neighboring state of Himachal Pradesh should be propped up as an apple producing area. Some politicians openly advocated the merger of Jammu

with Himachal Pradesh.

Every possible effort was made to ensure that Himachal Pradesh created a tough competition for Kashmiri fruit industry. Still Himachal Pradesh could not outstrip the Kashmiri apple trade.

The abrupt rise of Hindutva sentiment in India created fear psychosis. The Kashmiri Muslims thought that they were being stymied in an organised manner by Hindu capitalists for purely religious reasons. The events in Afghanistan opened up for them the prospects of joining West Asia for bettering their lot. The prospects of tourist trade and vending Kashmiri handicrafts in the marts of West Asia seemed an attractive viable alternative.

The votaries of Hindutva turned a blind eye to the geo-political compulsions in West Asia. Muslims intellectuals reasoned that Hindu nationalism reflected the historically rooted domination sentiment of the high caste Hindus, who wanted to manipulate the levers of power, in a manner that would reduce the low-caste and other religious minorities to the level of second class citizens. In a Hindu state Muslims will be bracketed with Sudras.

This feeling that India wanted to become the policeman of the Indian sub continent created alarm in the neighbouring countries.

The neighbouring countries made it a plank of their foreign policy to support politically and morally any domestic turmoil within India. The high caste Hindus also wanted turmoil to avoid a situation that could lead to the emancipation of low-caste Hindus and other religious minorities.

The consequence of this unfortunate situation in India is that perpetual conflict underpins political archi-

tecture being built-up by its leaders.

This situation has accelerated Kashmir's struggle for economic independence. The Indian political elite now believe that huge economic concessions may for the time being enable the Indian government to abate militancy in the State. The Kashmiris however think that an independent Kashmir would turn out to be an el-do-rado.

The people of Sopore held the view that on 6th January 1993, the BSF wreaked vengeance upon them only for their affluence. They believed that ominous cries of Hindutva may unleash a tornado that shall annihilate anything related with Islamic way of life. Hindus are not going to tolerate an affluent Kashmir.

These feelings may or may not be true but one fact is obvious that if rampant communalism is not checkmated in time, the Hindu chauvinists would set forward a process that would put India on a collision course with Muslim West Asia.

That would be a sad day in the life of the nation. Already most of the people like an ominous Cassandra are prophesying death and destruction, utter annihilation and total chaos for man in the street. India should not become a battleground of 21rst Century in Asia. The Indian political leaders find themselves struggling against the onrushing waters of contemporary events that have now assumed the proportions of a gigantic deluge.

The Indian leadership is rudderless. It has failed to assert itself. The present administration is conscious that it does not have support of the people. It is bogged down in a morass of political instability.

Devoid of the support of the people it is not expected to exert moral power. We must not overlook the fact that

even legal power of the State cannot effectively operate without strong ethical backing from the masses. The will to governance of a state should be derived from the consensus of the people. Democracy is a necessary evil for a country with huge population like India. It is also a fact of life that an administration that loses the support of the masses functions opaquely. Such an administration is compelled by circumstances to shed off the veneer of liberality. The danger is that keeping in view the current circumstances India may turn into a totalitarian state.

If India turns into a totalitarian state, the fissiparous tendencies evident in its various constituent states would get a great boost. The survival of the state would depend upon suppression of the masses.

This will lead to sure nihilism. Political negativism has already given an upper hand to antisocial elements, confirmed smugglers, overt criminals, boozing gamblers, petty fogging cheats, grudgeful malcontents, ruthless swindlers, the swaggering local toughs, the grubbing extortionists, the awful rapists, the moral lepers, who claim to preside over the destiny of the people. In order to suppress the masses, the totalitarian state always encourages such criminal elements. Even at present when India is still a democracy the politician- criminal nexus has become the bane of society. This group has begun to exercise unlimited power.

The use of unlimited power by this vicious circle in Indian polity reminds one of the wise counsel of Alexis-de-Tocque Ville. "Unlimited Power" he wrote:

"Is in itself a bad and dangerous thing: human beings are not competent to exercise it with discretion and God alone can be omnipotent, because his wisdom and his justice are always equal

to his power".

But no power upon earth is so worthy of honour for itself or of reverential obedience to the rights that I would consent to admit its controlled and all predominant authority.

> *"When I see the right and means of absolute command are conferred on a people or a king, upon an aristocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I recognize the germ of tyranny and I journey onward to a land of more hopeful institution."*

These remarkable words of Alexix Tocquville provide us the insight that a democracy or a republic if it arrogates to itself unlimited power can be totalitarian in its chief characteristics. Even a democracy has no right to use unlimited political power.

If ever the ultra Hindu parties come to power in India, the temptation to turn totalitarian would receive a shot in the arm. They would heavily depend upon a strong military force. The U.S.A. will continue to supply arms to the third world countries. The Russian armament industry will be compelled to re-negotiate arms sales to India. The fall off in Russian arms business is a matter of grave concern to that country. India would prove an excellent market for Russian arms industry. It is in Russia's interests that India should go totalitarian. Nobody can precisely predict what shape the events will take in future. These apprehensions are real and cannot be wished away. In modern world in some countries, some democracies have proved worse than the ancient Tiberian or c1audian despotism. The degraded men leading the democracies have found it easier in the name of egalitarianism to degrade the soul of fellow men. Democracies have found it easier

to make masses captive of fear. Means of communication have been manipulated by those controlling the levers of power in such a manner as to brain-wash the people to accept a make-believe world. In India the concept of Hindutva is also a make-believe concept. Ultra Hindu parties say without adhering to it India will be doomed. Fear psychosis has deliberately been created. The abomination adhering to this state of affairs stems from the fact that fear paralyses creative thinking and creates a political climate in which people willingly accept exercise of unlimited power by the so called leaders.

These ambiguous and polemical political probabilities may not be actualised but nobody can deny the existence of these probabilities. Also we cannot ignore the role of United States in South Asia. There is every conceivable reason to believe that the role of United States in the first quarter of 21st century shall remain inexplicable and paradoxical. This is inevitable for several reasons. United States in its global role will find it mystifying in balancing the conflicting South Asian political aspirations. It may at some stage overtly support India, while disagreeing with Indian perceptions to use it as a cat's paw against emerging Muslim West Asia. It may also favour the existence of compelling circumstances that would make a military conflict between India and China a possibility. On the other hand, in the coming decade United States may also forge closer ties with Pakistan to exercise some sort of leverage upon the Muslim central Asian countries. Thus nobody can predict about the role of U.S. in South Asia.

What would be the role of China in such a grim scenario? Would China mobilise the South Asian countries to stem the growing tide of Indian expansionism? Would Russia again emerge as a force to be reckoned with in South

Asia? The possibility that India in such circumstances may slide into an undemocratic set-up cannot be ruled out. Even the Russia-Indian nexus pitted against Pakistan-China alliance is an open-ended plausibility. Or may be contrary to all expectations India-China and Russia may emerge as a block.

An un-democratic India would in all probability be Hindu oriented in outlook. It would make all frantic efforts to divide Muslim West Asia. To achieve that objective it may concede the valley of Kashmir to Afghanistan rather than to Pakistan. Greater Afghanistan shall always prove a threat to the integrity of Pakistan. Geo-political realities in South Asia are riddled with awesome complexities. The possibilities for political forecasters may prove an undecipherable abracadabra.

Let me now briefly make an apercu of the emergence of economic realities in an expansionist India. The non-democratic India (if it ever emerges) being dominated by the High Caste Hindus would pay least attention to the widening gap between State and citizenry. Its priorities would include possession of nuclear weapons of different varieties, self-reliance in military hardware and armaments, over-hauling of the military machine, vending of small arms to smaller countries of Asia and Africa. Its economic methodology would have embattled overtones. To meet these specific targets the planning would focus itself on defence objectives. This in plain term means that India's economic boom would augment in a deadlier manner the agony of the common man. While India would be sending rockets to the moon the men in the street would be subjected to food rationing. Multinational enterprises shall dominate the industrial sector. Corruption will become a live behemoth. Inequities in distribution of largesse will be the fulcrum around which the industrial sector would gyrate. Pollution and abasement of ecology will be tolerated as a necessary evil. India would play a dominant role in South Asia viz-a-viz SAARC countries in providing 'capital, technology and access to markets and this ever burgeoning economic clout would enable it to become hegemonistic in its quintessential industrial overtones. So we can expect that in the first quarter of the 21st century South Asia would become more unstable with unmanageable tensions. The relationship between India and China at this stage will take the overtones of arch rivals at least in the field of high technology, the buying and financing of power and search for Afro-Asian market.

If history could be counted to move in a circuitous manner the emergence of India as an economic giant would push the SAARC countries to integrate and seek co-operation with Muslim West Asia. They may federate to provide unified front against totalitarian India in the field of high technology, industry and commerce. We cannot ignore the possibility that the new economic realities would produce a new and ever rising high level of hostility between these South Asian powers. There is no gainsaying the fact that the totalitarian Indian economic giant would use its brute bargaining power to control the countries of South East Asia. To achieve this objective India may be tempted to float the idea of a South Asian United Nations and South Asian monetary fund. The hegemonistic India would not mind to contribute freely to the institutions of General Agreement on South Asian Tariffs and Trade, South Asian monetary fund, the South Asian Bank, the South Asian Energy Agency, the South Asian Commodity agreements, the Organisation of South Asian States,

and South Asian United Nations. This would give a boost to the political clout of totalitarian India. The Indian economy would get increasingly involved in these hegemonistic endeavours.

The consequences of this policy would be disastrous for man in the street in India. While Indian economy would play the role of a protector of the welfare of South Asia, the low-caste and the peasants in India would find themselves impoverished and neglected. With the increase in petroleum prices the Indian domestic economy would be adversely affected. Only the high caste who would be controlling the state apparatus and the multinationals in India would feel comfortable. To contain domestic unrest the high caste ruling junta would ring down an iron curtain. The prices would skyrocket at a feverish pace. The agricultural sector would be totally neglected. Heavy armament industry would get the top most priority. Consumer goods would disappear from the markets. The administration would put a moratorium upon the wages of the civil servants. Civil liberties will have to be curbed. The judiciary will have to play a committed role. The Civil Service would lose its independence. The press would become compliant. George Orwell's concept of a thought police may in such a scenario be actualized in India. Most of the people would be sent to concentration camps for obvious thought-crime. Opposition parties would be totally eclipsed.

To avoid such a grim situation, the Muslims in India and the low-caste Hindus should now act in concert and strengthen democratic forces in India. Democratic India alone can be expected in the long run to resolve out-standing disputes with its neighbours. Democratic India will avoid agglomerating hegemonistic aspirations. Muslim

leadership in India will have to come to grips with these unflattering ground realities. Political strategies will have to be evolved in the backdrop of this looming large perspective. Democratic India under pressing compulsions of domestic circumstances will have to commit most of its budget to economic and developmental plans. Military spending should get curtailed. A time would come when India in its own economic interests would resolve its out-standing disputes with neighbouring countries. Economic interests would be the coupling factor in South Asia. Indian federalism will get a great boost. Centre state relationship within India would be put on an even keel. The autonomous character of the states would get automatically restored. India is at the cross roads. The present day pseudo-democracy can be assailed by subversive forces in the name of consolidating democracy. We must not forget in early thirties the Nazi party in Germany came to power through democratic processes. Democracy can prove a Trojan horse. Democratic judas in a semi-literate country like India are better equipped to manipulate public opinion in the name of religion and Hindu nationalism. The danger is from within and not without. Hindu-Muslim animosities are being utilized as a contraption to cement Hindu public opinion in favour of Hindu nationalism. Muslims in India have to see through this smoke-screen. Failure to perceive real motives of the right reaction by the minorities in India will further the Indian polity going down-hill. I must however admit that political prognostications always do not actualize with mathematical precision. The predictions of the forecasters often do not prove true. The events are always fast changing and one cannot figure out the outcome with even a modicum of exactness. However, as politics is the theatre of the possible it is always prudential to figure out the apparent

possibilities inherent in a situation. A real political drama is a succession of bizarre coup de theatres interlinking disparate themes and a multitude of irreconcilable objectives. A true politician must have enormous capacity for double think.

Most of the suggestions I have figured out in this monograph have to be understood as indicative of plausibilities rather than as cut and dried foretelling. One thing is certain it is in the interests of Indian Muslim to support democratic forces in India.

In this perspective I would like the reader to comprehend my views about the role of the US in South Asia in twenty first century. Comprehending the intricacies of the US role in Asia is as arduous as the endeavour of a drowning man dog peddling to stay afloat in turbulent waters of an inundated river. This is so because towards Asian affairs the US has adopted an attitude of unfounded ambivalence more suitable to the temperament of a village dominie. The dogmatization of politics robs it of ratiocination and puts it on a high pedestal as tenets of a church. In Asia the U.S. has played out the role of a well intentioned but naive political reformer. The consequence is that most of its doings have proved ineffectual. It has looked upon the smaller Asian states as motherless calves in a cattle field and they in turn have considered it a dog in manger. The Asian intellectuals want US to give up silly ideas. The U.S. politicians still want to cling to the political dogmatism that Asia is a stinking cesspool of stagnant diplomacy. Those who manage the affairs of the US are now clamouring that it should extricate itself from Asia. At the turn of this century this is rude-curde and poor diplomacy, this clamour of the political doggeries within U.S. is based on fear psychosis. The US cannot shun its

responsibilities towards smaller Asian countries especially those of South. The U.S. politicians will have to avoid the temptation to espouse a doctrinaire approach to Asian affairs. In politics one cannot afford to have a divorce between thought and action. In politics one cannot act like a high priest who imagines that his divinations will be fulfilled. One has to be as pragmatist as pirates divvying up the profits among themselves. The political maxim of divide et impera has lost its coruscating gloss. The present day political equations are based upon linkages founded upon the concept of regional interdependence. U.S. cannot insulate itself from other states that share a common perspective with it. Those forces within the U.S. that are advocating a hands off policy have no detailed programme to deal with the puzzling questions that would crop up in these queer situations. Let us now examine some of these questions that may be difficult to be answered. In the 21st century a vacuum will be created in the South Asia. This political vacuum would lead to some grim political consequences. Democratic regimes in South Asia would get subverted. Totalitarian India would emerge as a new menace. The four basic objectives of Indian foreign policy would be:

(a) to abate the influence of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran in South Asia;
(b) to diminish the Chinese clout in South Asia;
(c) to forge a new South Asian block with New Delhi as its leader;
(d) to develop new linkages with Russia so as to marginalize the U.S. influence in Gulf countries.

In such a scenario totalitarian India would be compelled to achieve its objective by making Kashmir imbroglio an excuse for a nuclear war with Pakistan. India would

make every endeavour to accomplish a victory over Pakistan. This would promote its policy of scaring the Persian Gulf countries. India would develop a very powerful Navy and Airforce. It would boost up its nuclear and rocket capability. It would contrive deliverable nuclear war heads. It may even develop rocket deliverable hydrogen war heads. Only a democratic India will avoid such a confrontationist stance. Only a democratic India can prove a boon to the world. Totalitarian India may within a few years develop ICBM and thermonuclear capabilities. It may even gain an edge in nuclear shoot-out with Pakistan. After achieving all this India may find itself on a confrontationist path with U.S. (China because of its economic compulsions may for sometime avoid conflict with India). The main defence objective of India would be to extend its territorial army to staggering size with bulk of the forces stacked up on Pakistan, Afghanistan border.

The emergence of totalitarian Hindu India will have repercussions for U.S. politics in South Asia. The USA would fail to wield any influence in the Persian Gulf and other oil producing countries. Secondly the U.S. will not be able to build any sound alliance in this region. Third, India would encourage Russian-American antagonism so that it can pursue its policy of regional expansionism. In other words it may be in India's interest that Russian may invade the newly formed Central Asian Republics so that the US is involved on a long term basis in Central Asia. The US would be compelled to provide trade deals, loans and military aid to Central Asian Republics. India may also encourage the European common market countries to enter into viable memos of understanding with it to checkmate U.S. In other words the U.S. to its dismay would find itself embroiled in protracted controversies that would

prove a burden upon its economic resources. The entire Asia would be divvyed up amongst the triumvirate of India, China and Russia. Any multilateral negotiated settlement initiated by the United States in South Asia would come a cropper unless midwifed by India. Even during a greater part of a twenty first century American dependence on Arab oil cannot be ruled out. So crippling of U.S. influence in this region would lead to rapid deterioration of its economy. The result would be serious economic depression in U.S. The buoyancy of U.S. economy would suffer a great setback. The credit squeeze will become a major economic tangle having a direct impact on U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. industry would find itself outsmarted by the European common market and bogged down in its worst slump. This would also lead to domestic unrest within U.S. Wages and prices would sky rocket sharply. Inflation would be the bane of American society. Productivity will be adversely affected. The American democracy itself will come under a great strain. After second Great War it was America that contributed tremendously for European renewal. Europe may not reciprocate in the same spirit of generosity.

The repercussions in the far-east would be disastrous. A North-South Korea war would become inevitable. Russia and China would gang up against Japan. Russian military machine will become more formidable in the twenty first century. The thrust of the Russian defence mechanism would be based upon three principles: (i) to develop the techniques of airlifting men and materials at short notice, (ii) to harmonise the operations involved in air and ground attacks (iii) to inject the use of highly developed complicated satellite communications system for military purposes. Russian-Japanese confrontation may

become an ugly reality. Vietnamese, Koreans, Mongolians and Central Asian Republic would again be in great jeopardy. Communism will be replaced by Russianess and Chineseness in the twenty first century. If U.S. withdraws from South Asia, the danger of Russian-Chinese chauvinism acting in cahoots with each other and cementing linkages with aggressive Hindu nationalism cannot be ruled out. These linkages will bring the world close to the edge of world war Third. Russia-China and India jointly (in view of various ethnic groups that dwell in these countries and speak countless different dialects and worship Jehovah, God, Buddha, Allah, animist spirits and various idols) may become a totalitarian monolith to suppress these dissensions and for obtaining some sort of uniformity to achieve lofty political goals. The third world war may not be averted. It may become a reality in the coming century. It would be a war between totalitarianism and democracy. Huge petroleum reserves in Russia would make it self-sufficient in energy. Even China may become self-sufficient in oil resources by developing oil fields in Manchuria. India will have to depend for oil upon Russia and China so that the Gulf countries can be coerced to hike oil prices considerably to put under strain the U.S. economy.

One thing is certain beyond any shadow of doubt that the politics in Asia would be greatly influenced by the attitude of the U.S. Whether there would be confrontation between India and West Asia or between India or China or in the alternative, India-China and Russia would cement together to create a monstrous behemoth challenging other Asian countries would depend upon the policies of U.S. in South Asia. Nobody can make any predictions about such matters with any exactness.

In my view in such a scenario the emergence of an independent Jammu and Kashmir state can prove cordon sanitaria between, India, China, and Russia. In such a grim situation, Kashmir state can provide, in the interests of world peace and avoidance of third world war, an air base to US for most of its reconnaissance missions over the Russian and Chinese regions. Kashmir can be an ideal embarkation point for any such missions. All this can be avoided if India refuses to turn totalitarian.

Otherwise in 21st century it would require in a large measure, Anglo-US cooperation in openly bivouacking and monitoring the build-up of Russian-Chinese strategic arsenal. From Kashmir it would be easy to monitor targets in central Asia and the heart of Russia itself. Even China would be thoroughly exposed to U.S. Eyries created for this purpose. The presence of U.S. in Kashmir will shore up democracy in South Asia. This will also impede the rise of Hindutva (which is another version of Nazism) in India. Democratic forces in India would whole-heartedly support an autonomous Kashmir that would have strong economic linkages with both India and Pakistan. The possibility of war by miscalculation between India and Pakistan would get completely eliminated. The most blatant upshot would be that U.S. presence in Kashmir will dampen the ardour of Pakistan and India to pile up more nuclear weapons. They would be able to spend their economics on development. This would enable the countries of the sub-continent to attain a more stable political environment. This would enable the U.N. to make endeavours for accomplishing the goal of general disarmament.

What I have speculated may prove only a keyhole view of 21st Century South Asia. The suggestions offered in this monograph may appear bird brained to the politi-

cians of South Asia who are involved in political rivalries suited to the temper of neurotic lovers wooing a beau, but man in the street may find them worth a look. These suggestions may not be impeccably stylized but they will invite the people of South-Asia to think how to escape the inferno of perpetual warfare that may turn the 21st century into whirling hard-jousting medieval ages. It is my conviction that world does not move in linear direction but in a perfect circle. The 21st century may only be an extension of the middle ages and history will go on repeating itself; till we return back to the stone-Age which is the only ideal and perfect age known to mankind. The recorded history of human kind is the story of man degenerating in a phased manner from perfection to gross imperfection. What we call human progress is nothing but the saga of skepticism replacing faith. Man in search of faith has got trapped in the quagmire of skepticism. He has to suffer the nemeses. Man is iniquitous by temperament. It is apt to quote Holy Quran in this context. Says Quran:

> *"If God should punish men for their iniquity, he would not leave on earth any moving thing. (Holy Koran Chapter XVI)*

It is man who is impatient and destroys himself before the appointed hour. Self-destruction, self-doubt, self-denigration, self-dissatisfaction is part of human nature. He seeks answers to his dubieties but can find none because the entire universe is dissimulative in its quintessence, and man cannot get rid of his duality. He is a prisoner of his mind and body that always function at cross-purposes. Religion was fabricated as a bridge between mind and body but has failed to withstand the winds of change. This feeling has persisted throughout the recorded

history of human kind. The Greek-speaking Jew (in 125 B.C.) who wrote the "Wisdom of Solomon", the most excellent book in the biblical apocrypha gave vent to these sentiments in the following inimitable words:

"Verily we went astray from the way of truth, And
the light of righteousness shined not for us, And,
the sun rose not for us,
We took our fill of the paths of lawlessness and
destruction,
And we journeyed through trackless deserts, But
the way of the Lord we knew not.
What did nour arrogancy profit us?
And what good have riches and vaunting brought
us?
Those things all passed away as a shadow, And as
a message that runneth by;
As a ship passing through the billowy water
Whereof, when it is gone by, there is no trace to
be found,
Neither pathway of its keel, in the billows:
Or as when a bird flieth through the air,
No token of her passage is found,
But the light wind, lashed with the stroke of its
pinions,
And rent asunder with the violent rush of the
moving
Wings is passed through,
And afterwards no sign of her coming is found,
therein;
Or as when an arrow is shot at a mark,
The airdisparted, closeth up again immediately,

So that men know not where it passed through,
"So we also, as soon as we were born, ceased to be
And of virtue we had no sign to shew,
But in our wickedness we were utterly consumed,
Because the hope of the ungodly man is as chaff carried by the wind,
And as foam vanishing before a tempest;
And is scattered as smoke is scattered by the wind,
And passeth by us,
As the remembrance of a guest,
that tarrieth,
but a day.

(Wisdom of Solomon V, 6-14 translated by James and Janet Maclean Todd excerpted from 'Voices from the Past' published by Arrow Books Ltd. 178-202 Great Portland Street, London W. 1. By Courtesy) and acknowledgments to the Publisher)

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Part II

Epilogue

Part first of this book requires to be understood in the apercu of the backdrop of political ambience of Indian sub-continent presented herein above. This will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions on various issues discussed in this book.

By way of an epilogue to this small monogram I want to offer some clarifications about the views that are highly contradictory and that I have expressed in this tiny monograph on various aspects of the paradoxical problems that beset the Indian subcontinent. The speculations that I have offered and the speculations that I want to adumbrate upon in the epilogue may not seem to be the clarifications of the involuted issues involved in this ongoing debate but they have a tendency to get actualized. Actualization leads to self-revelation and this is the one reason I have characterized them as clarifications of the speculations formulated in this monograph.

This involuted explanation has become essential because the politics of the Indian subcontinent for the past several centuries has been rooted in the morass of fear. In the second half of the twentieth century the present Indian state was founded on the bedrock of ethnic misgiv-

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

ings. These ethnic misgivings have continued to shape the politics of the Indian subcontinent. Let us examine the present ground realities. The contemporary Indian political scientists, it is apparent, are motivated by apprehensions that the U.S. does not want the existence of a strong industrialized India in South Asia. Most Indian intellectuals are obsessed with the highly fanciful idea that U.S. wants to set out for its objective the balkanization of India. They fancifully believe that to balkanize India the U.S.A. would covertly support the movement for Azadi in Kashmir. They are of the view that an Independent valley of Kashmir would ultimately turn out into a military base for the U.S. This would provide a vantage point to U.S. to monitor China, Tibet and SAARC countries. This would also enable U.S. to curb an increasingly Fundamentalist Iran. The Indian think-tank is seriously pursuing the idea that to combat such a situation in near future it would be in the interest of India, china and Iran to gang-up against the menace of U.S.A. This thinking can be avoided if the Hindutva sentiment is curbed in India and democracy strengthened.

In this grim scenario we find that the political pundits in Pakistan are also living in a world of wild imagination. Most of them still harbour the misgiving that India has not reconciled itself to the existence of Pakistan. India still wants that in near future the unstable country of Pakistan should get Balkanized. Kashmir my provide India the excuse to launch upon its nefarious designs of militarily overcoming Pakistan. Most of the intellectuals in Pakistan are scared that India in order to defuse the ever mounting political pressure in Kashmir, would find it inevitable to leave no stone unturned to buttress movement for Azadi in Sindh. If this proves a nonstarter, India

my take the lead to advocate the creation of Greater Afghanistan. Greaser Afghanistan would be a greater threat to Pakistan than India. Most of the politicians in Pakistan advocate the idea that to combat the Indian menace Pakistan should become a cat's paw for red China. They believe that Pakistan can only exist if Sino-Indian rivalry is allowed to simmer. Most of them believe that China in near future would be compelled by circumstances to take on the responsibility of keeping the insurgency alive in Kashmir.

The people of Bangladesh are also bogged down in the quagmire of apprehensions. They think if India gets Balkanized the inevitable political fallout of this upheaval in the sub continent would be extension of Chinese hegemony to Bangladesh and Myanmar. The Chinese would then make an endeavour that Tamil militants should succeed in establishing a Tamil-state within Sri-Lanka. The Tamil State would become an out-post of China in the India Ocean.

The Kashmiri intellectuals are completely apathetic to the emergence of Chinese factor in the politics of Indian sub-continent. They are taking a very myopic view of the situation in this region. Most of the political commentators however openly voice the view that emergence of an independent Kashmir would in substance amount to the manumission of low-caste Hindus. It is bound to trigger off a fierce struggle between the low-caste and high-caste segments of Indian population. The Indian Muslim would find themselves bracketed with low-caste Hindus. The high caste Hindus would advocate the extermination or exodus of Indian Muslims from India. U.S.A. may find it advantageous to support the high caste Hindus. The Muslim world would view India as a threat to

Islam. The Muslim attention would be diverted from Israel towards India. The up-shot of this situation would be that U.S. would increasingly support a policy that would bring about a confrontation between India and Pakistan. The chief objective of the US Policy would be to ensure the victory of Hindu India upon Muslim Pakistan. The U.S.A. may find it feasible to appropriate its resources and economic clout to enable the ultraist Hindu parties to seize the levers of power In India. Hindu India would then galumph in pride over a vanquished Pakistan. The low caste and the Muslims would be compelled to look towards China for sheer survival. The powerful Hindu state would pose a threat to Muslim West-Asia. U.S.A. would enable India to become a formidable nuclear power. At this juncture the USA, India and Israel may overtly enter into a defence alliance. The Muslim West-Asia may them gang-up with a truculent China. There is every possibility that in such a grim scenario, without getting itself physically involved, the U.S. may encourage a Sino-Indian military clash. The U.S. would emerge as the beneficiary from this gory conflict. India and China would lick their wounds, while U.S. would lord over this region. Most of the political observers predict a political holocaust in south Asia. Some pessimists proclaim that disaster is looming large on the horizon. Chinese intervention in the affairs of Kashmir Valley and intrusions in Ladakh and North East India may escalate in the first quarter of the 21st century. This thinking of Kashmiri intellectuals is also based upon fear.

It is true that the moderates in India and Pakistan feel helpless; as a victim in a narrow oubliette precipitating with great trepidation. They realise in a fair measure the dangers of violent nationalism. They have been marginalised and are helpless on-lookers to these emerg-

ing dicy trends that have set for the objective of establishing violent nationalism in the sub-continent. Moderates in India and Pakistan should strengthen the democratic forces. They have no other choice.

The moderates in contemporary Indian subcontinent have become the butt of orbilious critics. To survive, they are at opposite with themselves. The political oragious ambience is not willing to tolerate them. The ultraists, who are contradictory and perverse, rule the roost. Nobody is willing to listen to the voice of reason. The growth of human knowledge in present day world is directly proportional to the growth of obscurantism. This is a sorrowful human situation.

We live in a society where the free thinkers from their lofty eyrie over-see the impending disaster, want to monitor the dicy situation but are rendered timorous by the forbidding aspect of tackling obscurantism. Ignoramuses are the new leaders of this world. Obscurantists inspire the populace. The common man worships violence. Moderates dare not oppugn the oppositionists. Expedience is the soul force of their approach to life. To procrastinate the evil day is the chief aim. The moderates in our society have become obsolescent. Ultra-conservatives, ultranationalists, and religious ultraist hold the key to vexed social issues. The principles of ultraism are gaining acceptance and have eroded the foundations of conventional moderation. The policy of double think and double-speak has social sanctions. Religious leaders have surrendered authority to religious bigots. The moderates in society have offered themselves as convenient implements to be manipulated by the religious bigots. Moderates have ceased to be precursors of a progressive policy. They are the greatest obstacle to the vicissitudinous change that is the

need of the hour.

Some sort of ultroneous consensus has enabled the moderates in the Indian sub-continent to keep the social issues unresolved. They cannot be expected to be ultra-virtuous in the art of survival. Moderates in India and Pakistan as a matter of survival mechanics have muddled politics. If moderates evade political responsibility disaster will overtake south Asia in 21st century.

The public opinion is on the horns of a dilemma. The ultraist elements are gaining succour at a feverish pace. The moderates want to stymie the crisis. This has given rise to an outre situation. We should not overlook the fact that the dogma of Hindu and Muslim revivalism in the sub-continent is the fabrication of the moderates. They want to remain entrenched in seats of power. They have become the fulcrum around which revivalism in the sub-continent revolves. This religious revivalism may lead to a civil war in the sub-continent. One can safely infer that in first quarter of the 21st Century while ultraism would become strident in the Indian sub-continent the governance of the country shall be commanded by a low-toughed moderate. The slothful wasteful losels would try to perpetuate the status-quo. The U.S.A. would find these losels as the greatest stumbling block in its patch of interference in the sub-continent. It would like ultraists to capture the levers of power. The moderates are playing judas to South Asia.

For some time these losels in the India subcontinent shall succeed in their aim of trivializing politics. They will tacitly collude with each other. They may to some extent cloud their ideology in the tropologic jargon to confuse the world powers. However, ultimately they would become the slaves of ultraists.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

The moderates in Kashmir are also in collusion with moderates in India and Pakistan. This has further muddled the scenario. The coming generations will never forgive us.

At the present moment the moderates in Kashmir have tacitly entered into back-room dealings with the moderate elements in the central governments in India and Pakistan. They maintain a posture of contrariness on issues that call for immediate resolution. These issues have extra-emotive potential for public mischief. Peddling extra official ambivalent propositions may be good politics but is not pragmatic statesmanship. Honesty is the best policy even in politics. We have seen that political diabolism may succeed for sometime but ultimately it leads to perdition. The dishonesty of the moderates is the real cause of unrest in the Indian sub- continent.

The Unions of India and Pakistan do not want to enter into any meaningful dialogue to resolve the contentious issues that have marred their relationship. These contentious issues have diverted public opinion from the economic misery in which the Indian sub-continent is mired. Attention is invited to the four aspects of the problem in the comments detailed hereinafter.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Part III

Some Comments on the Existing Situation

Kashmir tangle is a creation of the moderates in India and Pakistan. The Indian moderates want to channelize political revolt in Kashmir along constitutional lines. The Pakistani moderates want the Sindhi nationalists to emulate the Kashmiri model and accept Kashmir type autonomy within the framework of Pakistan politics. The ideologues adept in the art of tropology have evolved as the oxymoron concept of extra-limital autonomy for Kashmir and Punjab within the Indian union and for Sindh and Baluchistan within the federal Pakistan. In fact to achieve this aim the Indian government wants to draw a wedge between the people of Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir also, so that Jammu gets autonomy within J&K State.

The best way to draw a wedge between the people of Kashmir and Jammu is to embark upon rapid industrialization of Jammu region while economically neglecting the Kashmir valley and contemporaneously encouraging the extrusion of Kashmiri influence from Ladakh.

This would make the emergence of pre-1947 Jammu and Kashmir state a political conundrum defying resolution. In this way the moderates man the politics in India and want to procrastinate and confound the issues. In

Pakistani Sindh, the Mahajir Sindhi problem is being tackled on the same lines. Perpetuation of existing problems in India and Pakistan is the main plank of the policy of the moderates who are under intense pressure from the petty fogging ultraists. The intellectuals with shark-teethed-saw-edged acuity see through this game but lack the moral authority to act like ideopraxists and sub-silentio have become permitees of this nefarious game plan. The intellectuals in India realise that drawing a wedge between Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir may prove a non-sequitor. This policy reflects bankruptcy of ideas, crass-one sidedness, a penchant for confusion. This is opacity of political approach to a sensitive political problem. Isolation of Ladakh from Kashmir and Jammu would facilitate Chinese intrusion in Ladakh region. Chinese would normalise relations with India to facilitate their intrusion in Ladakh and North East India. India in this process would land into a cul-de-sac. No politician in the sub-continent would be able to recite the magic words of open sesame once Chinese gain a foothold in Ladakh region.

Chinese are employing utmost tact and skill in normalising their relations with India with a view to gain a foothold in the Jammu and Kashmir state. In this opera bouffe which is being enacted in the subcontinent, the on-lookers have failed to anticipate how the histrionics would operate. The Chinese factor should not be ignored. By way of a side wind it may be stated that industrialization of Jammu would make that region opulent. An affluent Jammu would be offered markets in China. In the second half of the 21st century the affluent Jammu people may for pure economic reasons raise the bogey of Greater Dogra Desh. People in Himachal Pradesh may opt for merger with the greater Dogra Desh. This would become

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

inevitable to escape domination of an economically autonomous Punjab. The upcoming generations of Dogras realise that economically autonomic Punjab would willy-nilly pry open the suppurated sores in the psyche of the Dogra community.

Punjab and Jammu after industrialization would find themselves not immune from the virus of a gold fever. Economically autonomous Dogra Desh would provide succour to the schismatic forces. Chasing mirages is a common human failing. An autonomous Punjab will make an everlasting impact upon Jammu psyche. Economic considerations are more fissiparous than religious affiliations. Jammu region cannot be trusted to behave in a predictable manner only because of its religious affinity with India. Dogra desh can also strive for full independence.

I must reiterate that policy of administratively trifurcating the Jammu and Kashmir regions reflects gross political insulsity. A centrally administered Ladakh administered through an Autonomous Hill Council would turn out to be a smuggling outpost of China. Chinese are normalising relations with India so that they can economically radicate themselves in Tibet and Ladakh. Behind the smokescreen of smuggling, political influence may be exported. Chinese themselves may float the idea of an economically autonomous Tibet. Ladakh region in such a grim situation would exhibit its learning towards the greater Tibet. Indian think tank roused from its deep slumber by the giant sucking sounds of the Chinese dragon may find to its dismay that the smooth-browed, smooth-chinned, smooth-faced, smooth-tongued Ladakhi population had double-crossed India. Chinese would never allow American influence to find grasping roots in Kashmir valley. Chinese intrusion would be a counter blast to

American endeavours to find a foot-hold in the valley.

Only a fully autonomous Jammu and Kashmir buffer state can secure the integrity of India and Pakistan. Autonomous Kashmir valley or Dogra desh can lead to greater complexities. The pre-1947 status of Jammu and Kashmir can only be restored if India and Pakistan devise a new-fangled strategy of common outlook in matters of foreign affairs, and defence. Even Bangladesh may be compelled to join this new grand alliance. If this does not mature the possibility cannot be eschewed that within the next fifty years a vast segment of Chinese population would immigrate into Ladakh and North East India. In these areas the Chinese would find it facile to immingle with local population. They would invigorate cultural, religious and ethnic bonds with these people by providing them an opportunity of economic growth. This would encourage smuggling enterprises and speculative financial ventures. Illegal trade will have the patronage of Chinese establishment. This would lead to demographic alteration in these regions. The Ladakhi sub nationalism will get a much needed shot in the arm, the Chinese military complex would lend succour to Ladakhi Nationalism. Ladakh would become a Chinese outpost to be utilized for arms smuggling into the valley of Kashmir. The fully armed-potent Ladakhi population would become a challenge for public order. The Ladakhi smugglers in course of time would get banded with Kashmiri armigers. The Jammu & Kashmir state would become a seething cauldron of public turmoil. The state of Jammu and Kashmir would become a permanent drain upon Indian economy.

In this backdrop we have to analyse the recent 2008 Amarnath Shrine board agitation in Jammu.

Indian politicians cannot avoid facing these emerg-

ing realties. Statesmanship consists in taking thoughtful decisions at crucial moments. Political decisions should have moral underpinnings. Politics is the art of being moral in a non-moral situation. Even religion is pure politics. A true politician need not be a philosopher. He may be an immoral person yet he is expected to abide by public morality. Public support for political measures ensures stability in a political system. Public morality is flexible and curvilinear. It admits a topological interpretation. One has to read between the lines. One cannot afford to be unilinear. The morality of the times may sound as inconvenient as curmuting sounds in the bowls of a dyspeptic person. The greatest political morality is to follow the will of the people.

Every historic event provides myriad possibilities. Every revolutionary event is full of dreadful ramifications. The politician is always skeptical about the outcome of events. His choice is always dictated by pragmatism. Pragmatism is the observe side of public morality. Common masses are always pragmatic. Choices dictated by prejudices are malevolent. Such choices sow the seeds of discord and disharmony. People want concordances and not incongruities. The politicians of the sub-continent will also have to view their problems in this perspective. They should avoid creating great expectations. People are always difficult to gratify.

Events point out the necessity for co-operation between the people of the Indian sub-continent. The intellectuals have entered their caveat in a nambypamby manner. One cannot turn a blind eye to the dangers looming in the horizon. The politicians will have to perceive these dangers. Liberal democracies like the countries of the Indian sub-continent caught napping amidst stormy up-

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

heavals, founder to the nadir of narrow souled Kakistocracy. The state then is manipulated by a pack of ambitious, violence-prone brats who defiantly disregard public opinion. In totalitarian states policy of suppression of public opinion becomes the new guide-line. The feckless protest by timid populace does not measure even to the faint lowing of a grayid nanny. Autocratic rule apathetic to the weal of the masses established in the name of rescuing the beleaguered state becomes oppression. The social system suffers from narcolepsy. Independent debate is stifled. The spirit of dogged inquiry is smothered. Masses are fed the nectarian delights of emotive issues exaggerated beyond proportion. Demagogues firmly silence all opposition. If Pakistan, India and Bangladesh do not resolve their differences they may be caught in the vice-like grip of such a system.

China, we should realise would not favour the emergence of an Independent Kashmir. Its political objective would be to keep insurgency alive in the Indian subcontinent. Insurgents in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Ceylone would be the biggest consumers for the armament factories of China. This region is going to witness the bloodiest civil strife in the twenty first century. The upshot of such a disagreeable situation would be the reemergence of dictatorships in the sub-continent. The future of democracy appears to be dreary. Ultra-nationalism sweeping the Indian sub-continent would turn into phobia. The dictatorship in India would be conducive to the rise of violent Brahmanism. Suppression of the low-caste would be the last nail in the coffin of democracy in India.

The collapse of democracy in India would make entire region of south Asia unstable. The Hindu Brahmin

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

state in South Asia would be totally intolerant. It will turn expansionist. Nepal and Ceylon would become vulnerable. The violent Brahmanism would elevate Indian nationalism to the status of Hindu religion. India itself would become a venerable deity. This transformation of mother India into goddess India would be the most traumatic event for South Asia. A new culture would evolve in India. Political obligations of the people towards union of India would get religionised. People will be asked to make supreme sacrifices to propitiate goddess India. State would become supreme. The men who manipulate the levers of power in the state would be sanctified as impeccable angels. The theocratic India would consider itself infallible. The Hindu India would endeavor to engender the doctrine of racial supremacy of the Aryan race. This would be disastrous. Military conflict with Buddhist South Asia, China and Semitic Islam would become inevitable.

The clash of transcendental religious-political dogmas is not a mere competition between rival ideas. It is a war to the knife. Positiveness in matters of religion operates in teleological spheres. Positiveness in matter of politics places the combatants on a collision course. Positiveness in politics has the tendency to make it look transcendental. Transcendental politics imbued with religiosity is the greatest danger to human kind. Transcendental politics regards opinion of power-wielders as authoritative. Dogmas brook no accommodations. Dogmas always have the tendency to breach the grounds of logical thought. The result is that many statements of political logic escape verifiable consequences in experience. They derive their validity from untested beliefs. Beliefs in history have never been logicised. Political neddy's bray the illogical dogmas. The neophytes chant the dogmas. People regard

them as mantras. The rationalists for fear of state reprisal avoid subjecting them to a meaningful process of logical criticism. In this way most ill-conceived tenets become metaphysical realities. These unsubstantiated realities find succour from intolerance. Intolerance aims at the extermination of the nonbelievers. This nefarious crusade leads to mass purges. Chaos becomes the vehicle of change. Nihilism becomes established. A tyrant state is born. The state exists only for devotees. The devotees exist only for the state. The individual is crushed under the juggernaut of the state. To obey the diktats of the state becomes a religious duty. The sayings of the leaders are emblazoned as religious tents. The zealots who worship the state are bold without judgment rash to the point of stupidity and venturesome in execution of the commands of the state. Past glory with filthy zeal becomes the objective to be achieved. People are commanded by the state to live in the past. To live in past means the populace should honour false beliefs, live in vain hopes and strive for vainglorious glory. The aim is to put the hands of the clock back.

The tyrant state is always a government of the fools, by the fools and for the fools. The presumptuous fools indulge their enthusiasm by becoming the fodder for the canon of the state. The scientists, philosophers, intellectuals are compelled to slave for the state.

The sop-heads become party bosses. The ignoramuses rule the roost. The dunder-heads form the infrastructure of the state apparatus. The num-skulls control the public enterprise. The foolhardy man the private industry. Zanies and clowns claim to be the representatives of the people. Parliament becomes a forum for silliest debates and pointless discussions. To be somebody, one has to be everybody's fool. The fools fool around with sensitive pub-

lic issues. People are expected to clap every foolish command of the state.

The directive principles of state policy are reduced to something absurd. The press is utilized for propagating preposterous ideas, inane doctrines, stupid themes approved by die-hard dunces, dullards and fool-hardy satraps of the state.

The universities impart to the alumni stupid instructions. They are meant to stultify the growth of independent perceptions.

I must point out that in the past the Muslim theocratic state escaped this horrible fate because of the iconoclasm proclaimed by Islam. Muslims never elevated the state to the level of a deity. The Muslim state at times was a tyrant state but that was due to the fact that it fell short of Islamic standards.

History tells that the perversion of Islam by the Muslim state enabled the non-virtuous, licentious and abandoned souls to appropriate state authority. Still the iconoclasm of Islam was the insuperable obstacle in the path of state supremacy. No Muslim ruler could claim to be an icon to be worshipped by the devotees. In point of fact it must be stated that Muslim state was supplanted by a political state soon after the death of Prophet Mohammad (SAW). The political Muslim state was a nationalist state. It had failed the ideal of an Islamic state. Islamic apathy towards Muslim state was evident in the growing dissent of the intellectuals against the establishment. When Abbaside caliphate was subverted by Ottoman Turks the man in the street was least bothered. The masses never considered it their religious duty to defend the ruling establishment. Muslim state could never achieve the ideal of an Islamic

state. It was idealistic in form but nationalistic in substance. This dichotomy between ideals and precepts added to the vulnerability of the Muslim state. Ultimately it foundered upon the rocks of its innate contradictions.

Muslim savants, saints, sufis and intellectuals were the real ambassadors of Islam. They carried on the mission of Islam with great zeal. Muslim state was least responsible for the spread of Islam. Its Islamisation mission had only the objective to obtain the allegiance of the people to the Muslim state. It is an irony of history that this Islamisation of the conquered people by the Muslim state widened the hiatus between nationalism emblazoned by the state and ideals of pan-Islamism preached by religious teachers. The conflict within the state precluded the religion to become a rallying point for the masses. The socio-political equation between state and its subjects could not be balanced. Religion failed to be a bulwark against oppositionist forces. Islam was militarily squashed by Christianity in Spain. Muslim masses accepted the decimation of Muslim Spain without a murmur. Muslim state had failed to mirror Muslim ideals. No Muslim scholar of that period approved the political wars waged by Muslim state for political ends.

The crusades reflected a political struggle between the East and the West. Even the abolition of the Caliphate in the early twentieth century was a political event. Muslim state perverted Islam by propagating coercive Islam. This perversion of Islam is not Islam. Coercion and Islam cannot co-exist. Islam embodies democratic, socialist and equalitarian values. In Islam there is no necessity to coerce any human being as final judgment belongs to God. There is no compulsion in matters of religion. Men have no right to judge men. God alone will judge men. State

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

exists to enforce penal laws for offences against humanity. No state law can be in opposition to morality and divine law. Islamic state can never be a danger to non-Islamic states. Islam inhibits aggression. Islam is religion of peace and non-violence. This is the quintessence of Islam. Reconciliation between Islam and West is essential for survival of mankind in Asia.

In contrast, the establishment of a theocratic Hindu State in 21st century would be a menace to Asia. Idolatry constitutes the ethos of Hindu religion. Addition of state as a deity to the Hindu pantheon would be acceptable to the idolatrous masses. Idols of the nation are the most essential idols according to Francis Bacon. To constitute the entire territory of India as deity would have great political signification. Worship of India would be sanctioned by history and religion. Ancient Hindu scriptures are ideographical in character. India with its rivers and mountains is one of the icons known to Hindu polity. This is the reason that Hindu nationalism is grounded in Hindu religion. Gandhi stirred the masses as a saint and not as a politician. Hindu politics is deeply religionised. Politics in India is bound up with traditions of idolatry. Leaders are not elected. They are worshipped. Non-Indians are baffled by the intricacies of Indian politics. Even people who are well-versed in the idiotic on of Hindu polity find it difficult to understand Hindu nationalism. Hindu nationalism is a highly religionised concept. Hindu nationalism reflects the glory of Aryan narcissism. It is grounded upon the idea of Aryan racial supremacy. In twentieth century Europe, Adolf Hitler failed as an ideopraxist of Aryan racial supremacy. His idealisation of this concept was not rooted in religion. His conceptions of racial supremacy of the Aryan were totally rejected as the aberration of a

perverted imaginative mind. He was not an ideologue but a Charlatan. He could not ideate his conceptions. His conceptions were his superstitions. We know that superstitions always originate in ignorance.

The distinction between belief and superstition is one of degree. Belief quintessentially is an affirmative concept. Superstition mirrors a negative state of mind. Belief is always founded in trust. Superstition is legitimised by the existence of possibilities. Hence if rationality negates the possibility upon which superstition is grounded, it gets totally deracinated. Belief surpasses rationality. Superstition rejects truth because of its being founded upon ignorance. Ignorance has a negative component. Belief itself is truth because of affirmation. Possibility originates in scepticism of mind. Affirmation and scepticism are sworn enemies. Superstition is a possibility or an explanation of the unknown. Every explanation is a possibility. Superstition lacks motive-power. Belief always motivates. Superstition is aimless. Belief has a definite goal. Belief is moral certainty. Belief is more positive than law: Law conforms to a standard. Belief itself is a standard. Belief is not bounded by limitation. Uniformity is its externalized attribute. Belief does not admit of any just exceptions. Belief is unassailable by reason. Belief is a state of mind. This is the human situation. The Hindu state founded upon belief of Aryan supremacy would be a supernational state. History teaches us that a supernational state is often a megalomaniac state.

The mega-perspective of a megalomaniac state consists in viewing the present through the prism of the past. The glorification of the past unrelated to any contemporaneousness obscures the present. This without the intervention of the present transforms subtly the past into the

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

future. So achievement of the past glory becomes the objective. The supra-national state looks backwards. This is perversion in idealism. Past is a fact situation that once existed but no longer endures. Perpetual change is the law of nature. Re-enactment of the past lacks naturalness. Past is not substantiality. Past perishes with time. Quran calls this "Kullu-Man-Alaiha-Faan" meaning that substantiality must perish. Time alone is boundless. Time is like the windings of a tangled spiral about its axis. Time itself rotates in an erratic manner. So travelling back in time is a bootless exercise. The megalomaniac states want to roll back time. This is against rational laws. The upshot is that the megalomaniac state is always irrational. Nature favours rationality. The irrationality is a mutiny against reality. Irrationality destroys itself. Irrationality is suicidal. The megalomaniac Indus-valley-Roman-Chinese-Egyptian civilisations have in the past committed suicide. Even in our contemporary world the soviet Russia simply destroyed itself. No megalomaniac culture has ever revived itself. The Greeks could not reassert the glorious Greek civilisation. Yet in contemporary India the right reaction wants to lay down the foundations of the new Hindu state on the bedrock of revivalism of Vedic culture. In this process the supremacy of Vedic Aryan culture gets unduly magnified.

The votaries of Vedic Aryan culture consider themselves ensconced upon a high moral plane than rest of the world. Placing themselves on a higher moral plane they are tempted to propagate the racial supremacy of the Aryan. Reviviscence from torpidity is always healthy. But rolling back the present is a grave morbidity. Normally the present should evolve into future. It should not become the future. The megalomaniac state proclaims

recession. The thrust of life is to move forward. This contradiction between aims and reality puts such a state under considerable strain. The megalomaniac state has to exert to the utmost to overcome this innate contrariness. The contraries with its constitution overburden it. For some time the people are willing to share this burden. When exertion becomes strenuous people are prone to vent public anger. The contra-lateral public anger forms the soft underbelly of the apparent public support. When despite hard endeavor the unrealistic objective fails to get actualized, the public anger against the state is unleashed. This is the mechanism of self-destruction. The megalomaniac state commits self-destruction. The megalomaniac state gets annihilated by its own devotees. Will Hindu India meet the same fate the answer is difficult to predict? In modern world a megalomaniac state need not physically assert its supremacy. It may opt for the cultural invasion of other states. A megalomaniac India would be a real menace to rest of the world.

The Hindu India with the objective of cultural invasion of South-Asia may pursue policies to further increase its population. The consequence of such a nefarious public policy would be that population explosion would be triggered off in India with a bigbang. The impact of this population explosion would be two-fold.

First the economy would grow marginally. Secondly and contemporaneously the population would grow faster. The social inequalities would get heightened. Social inequities would become unbearable. The Hindu India would utilize this iniquitous social inequality to motivate a large segment of the population to migrate to other lands. In this manner cultural invasion of neighboring countries would be triggered off. Iran, Turkey and Eastern Europe

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

may get indianized. The Western Europe will find itself unequipped to meet this new situation. Even some of SAARC countries would be reduced to the level of colonies of Aryan India.

The only solution to this problem is that Iran, Turkey, Central Asia and Eastern Europe should prevent the emergence of a Hindu state. Population explosion in India cannot be viewed as its internal affair. Economic and social structures that are being evolved in India cannot be termed as its internal affairs. Demographic goals of reduced fertility of Hindu females should be the concern of the world. Nobody should be allowed to manipulate the demography of India. Resurgence of Aryan nationalism should not be allowed to convert Asia and Eastern Europe into a region of racial strife. Aryan diaspora encouraged by Hindu India would also engulf Australia. These are some of the implications of the establishment of Hindu theocratic state in 21st Century. Hindu state would toll the death-knell of democracy in India. Hindu state can never allow the political clout to pass on to the low-caste Hindus. Population explosion in India is inextricably intertwined with the politics of high-caste Hindus. Population explosion in India is a political phenomenon with political objectives. Population explosion in India is not restricted by demographic factors like fertility, morality, labour force, participation or geographic considerations. Population explosion in India is ploy to export Aryan civilisation to other states. The present programme of population control in India is to better the high caste Hindus. It has nothing to do with the alleviation of poverty amongst the lower echelons of the population. Family planning programmes are meant for the benefit of higher echelons. The rise in population in India is directly linked with its political aims.

Population Control measures are not allowed to percolate to the lower strata of society. On the other hand democracy is being practised in a manner to ensure population increase in the low caste groups. Every additional mouth means an additional burden upon the low caste. Democracy in India has proved the greatest divisor of Indian polity. It has perpetuated caste divisions. This is the greatest enigma of Indian politics. The high-caste Hindus are not under any compulsion to move-up within the caste hierarchy. Their social position is vouchsafed by historical sanctions. For the high-caste the electoral process is a ploy to be manipulated. It is the low caste vote that gets divided. The high caste are able to form a government even though they constitute the minority. The political democracy in India is modelled on the pattern of Vedic democracy. No doubt the rubric under which it functions has a Westernised nuance. Egalitarianism and orthodox caste system cannot co-exist even under a democratic framework. Insularism is the principle upon which caste-system is fashioned. Nehruvian Socialism failed to abolish this historical isolationism of the castes. The new economic policy of isolationism of public sector is going to solidify the caste distinctions. Propertied classes have better chances to entrench themselves in positions of influence.

The 21st century is bound to witness the mass diaspora of the low caste Indians to the countries of Asia and Europe. Most of the countries of Asia and Europe will be colonised by these immigrant Indians. This politics of cultural invasion of other countries is the real politics of shame. World will have to comprehend this nefarious politics. Otherwise the 21st century will be an era of perpetual strife and human misery. Aryan exodus from India

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

to other countries under economic compulsions is the greatest menace staring into the face of 21st century. It is unfortunate the world by ignoring the emergence of a Hindu state in India is slowly moving into the storm centre of utter darkness.

Since the climacteric year 2001, the politics of the Indian sub-continent has undergone a sea change. February 18, 2008 general elections in Pakistan have topsy-turvy the situation. Kashmiri psyche and politics have been totally metamorphosed. Understanding Kashmiri politics is now an imperative for any student of new emerging trends in South Asia. I have undertaken the re-examination of Indo-Pak Kashmir politics in a spirit of inquiry and dispassionate ratiocination.

The main purpose of this book is to plead for immediate reconciliation between Islam and the West if we have to overcome homongenous problems in Asia. This is the Hobson's choice for both West and Islam. Hindu India if it emerges as a super power in Asia ally with Israel and bring the world to the brink of the third world war.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY

Index

A

Aharbal, the Shangrilla of the East 12
AI-Fazari 70
Alexandrian Museum 71
All India Akali conference 27
Aryan 75, 76, 83, 195
Autonomous Hill Council 186

B

Bakshi Ghulum Muhhammad 9
Bhindranwalla 29
BJP 27
Brahman 8, 32, 37, 99
British 8, 38, 74, 106

C

C.I.D 11
Caliphate of Baghdad 65
Civil Secretariat 14

D

Dal Lake 2
Dogra Desh 158
Dogra desh 187
Dogra Maharaja 6, 56

F

Freedom at Midnight 32

G

Greek 71, 72

H

Habeas Corpus 10
High Court 10, 19
Hindus 27, 40, 67, 83, 129, 131

I

Indira Gandhi 14, 32, 59
Intelligence Bureau 10

J

Jammu 147, 158, 194

K

Kashmir Politics 1
Kashmiri 7, 17, 24
Kashmiri Muslim 9, 24, 51, 160
Kashmiri Pandit 11, 20, 21, 23, 24
Kashyap Reshi 1

M

Maharaja Hari Singh 8
Mandapam 70
Mohammad Sadiq 9
Moulvi Farooq 11
Mughal 6
Muslim Conference 8
Muslim conference 52
Mussalman 8, 127

N

National Congress
8, 35, 61, 127
New Delhi 30, 169

O

Omar Khayyam 17

P

Pandit Nehru 75

S

Sachar Committee 27
Sheikh Abdullah 8, 54, 137
Shiro Mani Akali Dal 28
Shivaism 24
Srinagar Bar Association 18

U

U.S.A 133, 178, 182
United Nation 165

V

Vedic Aryan 196
verdure vale 1

W

Wulur 6

Z

Zombies 10

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES